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ABSTRACT

This report documents the educational needs of Native Hawaiians across ecosystem levels. Identifying the unique educational needs of Native Hawaiians and effective Native American and local programs that meet the unique educational needs of native Hawaiians, this project works within certain parameters: (1) part of a continuous needs assessment, (2) educational/academic emphasis, (3) inclusive definition of "Hawaiian," (4) ages 0-18 limit, and (5) extant data. The theoretical underpinnings of the project were taken from a systems theory approach. The use of this "ecological model" meant that the search for educational needs of Hawaiian children had to be sensitive to historical as well as other large-scale events and trends. This report presents parity comparisons for each tested grade level (2, 4, 6, 8, and 10) and across the academic years for which data were available (1976-77, 1980-81, and 1981-82). Native Hawaiian student achievement, special educational needs, culturally related academic needs, and culture loss and stress among Native Hawaiians is described. The process and results of searching for solutions is discussed. A bibliography is included. (PN)

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ED240138

NATIVE HAWAIIAN EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT PROJECT

Final Report
July 1983

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ABSTRACT

NATIVE HAWAIIAN EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT

The Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment was a one-year study with the major goal of identifying the unique educational needs of Native Hawaiian children from birth to age 18. Another goal was to identify Native American or other educational programs which could effectively meet the needs of Native Hawaiians.

The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate of Honolulu, Hawai'i conducted the study for the United States Department of Education. Study efforts were guided by a distinguished Executive Steering Committee of national and Hawaiian educators and social scientists.

The study was conducted in Hawai'i using data collected from public and private schools and from other agencies. Data were used to test the hypothesis that Hawaiian students score below parity with national norms on standardized tests and to describe other special educational and culturally-related academic needs.

Findings demonstrate that Hawaiian students do score below parity with national norms on standardized achievement tests; that Hawaiians are disproportionately represented in many negative social and physical statistics, indicative of special educational needs; and, Hawaiian students have educational needs which are related to their unique cultural situation.

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The Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment project would not have been possible without the direct support and encouragement of many individuals and agencies. To all who made contributions to the conduct and outcomes of this study, I would like to express the deep appreciation of our project staff and our hope that this study will result in the educational advances that are being fervently sought.

The first group of individuals that stand out for citation is our Executive Steering Committee, under whose guidance the study was conducted. These nine esteemed individuals patiently and thoroughly pored over and analyzed massive amounts of information and problems compiled for their review. Their directions were decisive and their questions were tough. As Dr. Frank Ryan said, "We want you to produce a study you can pound the table with!"

Myron Thompson, chairman of the steering committee, deserves a special commendation. For over a decade he has tried to help federal and state officials to better understand the unique needs of Native Hawaiians. He has worked equally hard at getting the Hawaiian community to join forces with government in order to bring about the programs and results that have been talked about for years. Mr. Thompson has distinguished himself as a person who can make things happen. Through his perseverance, vision and skills, the study came to be.

We also owe a debt of gratitude to several people in Washington, D. C. At the top of this list are the members of Hawaii's congressional delegation: Senator Daniel K. Inouye, Senator Spark Matsunaga, Representative Daniel K. Akaka and Representative Cecil Heftel. Words alone fail to convey the aloha and commitment that these gentlemen and their respective staffs have for their Hawaiian constituents. Among the staff members, Pat DeLeon, Senator Inouye's executive assistant, played a profoundly vital role in this project.

Another important supporter was Secretary of Education Terrel Bell. Our contacts with Secretary Bell were candid and cordial. He consistently encouraged us to generate a report that the Department of Education, the Congress, and state agencies could use to more effectively meet the educational needs of Native Hawaiians.

The individuals in Hawai'i who contributed to this project are too numerous to name. Most are represented by the following list of cooperating agencies:

State of Hawai'i Department of Education
- Data Processing Services Branch
- Student Information Services Branch
- Test Development and Administration Section

State of Hawai'i Department of Social Services & Housing
State of Hawai'i Department of Planning & Economic Development
State of Hawai'i Department of Health
State of Hawai'i Department of Labor & Industrial Relations
State of Hawai'i Office of Children & Youth
State of Hawai'i Department of Hawaiian Home Lands
Alu Like, Inc.
Office of Hawaiian Affairs
University of Hawai'i
Social Science Research Institute
East-West Center
Hawai'i Newspaper Agency
Honolulu Police Department
Hawai'i State Legislative Reference Bureau
Queen Lili'uokalani Children's Center
Hawai'i Association of Independent Schools
Catholic School Department of Hawai'i
Native Hawaiian Study Commission
United States Department of Education, Office of Indian Education

Another group deserving special acknowledgement is the very able and diligent staff of The Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estate Office of Program Evaluation and Planning. What you find on the following pages is the result of thousands of hours of their work. The men and women whose time and skills are invested in and reflected by the project report are: Dr. James Brough (Assessment Manager); Dr. Ormond Hammond; Chris Melahn; Jana Hall; Gail Aoki; Kelcey Cambra; Ann Joesting; Maylyn Magno and Kathy Fleming.

Many others at The Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estate played key roles in this project. They include: Jack Darvill, President of The Kamehameha Schools, and his assistant Sherlyn Franklin. Graphic artists Mary Carvalho, Nancy Middlesworth and Lynn Criss Fujita created most of the figures contained in the report and Grady Wells supervised printing of the preliminary drafts. Finally, my colleagues in the Office of Communications and Community Relations provided a great deal of administrative support and undertook the task of publishing the final manuscript. They are: Sharlene Grace; Marsha Bolson; Bruce Lum; Ramsay Taum; Dawn Farm-Ramsey; and Harriet Oana.

Mahalo kakou,

Neil J. Hannahs
Project Director

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Persons of Native Hawaiian ancestry have suffered disproportionately from educational and social inequality for some time. Descendants of the original inhabitants of Hawai'i find themselves at the bottom of indicators of success in modern America, and they are sometimes referred to as "strangers in their own land."

In 1974, efforts to develop Federal initiatives to redress these inequalities resulted in Congressional recognition of Hawaiians as Native Americans. Other attempts at legislative intervention included the Native Hawaiian Education Act, the intent of which was to provide Hawaiians with benefits comparable to those being offered other Native Americans. The outcome was the creation of an Advisory Council on Hawaiian Education. This advisory body was to conduct an extensive study of needs. Its funding, however, was cut by the Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981. The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate offered to underwrite the costs of conducting the study as a contractor at no public expense.

Members of the Advisory Council were contacted and asked to serve on a Steering Committee for the study. The final membership of this Steering Committee was as follows:

Myron B. Thompson, Chairman — Trustee, The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate.

Urie Bronfenbrenner — Professor of Human Development and Family Studies, and of Psychology, Cornell University.

Thomas Cook — Professor of Psychology, Northwestern University.

Harriette Holt — University of Hawai'i law school student and former researcher, Hawai'i State Legislature.

Pauline King — Professor of History, University of Hawai'i.

Hamilton McCubbin — Chairman and Professor, Department of Family Social Science, University of Minnesota.

Frank Ryan — Acting Director, Organizational Performance Services, Office of Management, Department of Education.

Robert Sweet — Executive Director of the National Council for Educational Research.

Benjamin Young — Dean of Students, School of Medicine, University of Hawai'i.

Staffing for the study was provided by The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate. The Project staff included a Project Director, an Assessment Manager, two Evaluation/Planning Specialists, a Research Assistant, an Administrative Assistant and a Clerk-Typist.

The Project had two Goals:

I. To identify the unique educational needs of Native Hawaiians.

II. To identify effective Native American and local programs that could meet the unique educational needs of Native Hawaiians.

The Project was to work within certain parameters. These were:

A. **Part of continuous Needs Assessment.** The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate has been and will continue to be actively involved in developing accurate Needs Assessment information for and about the Native Hawaiian population. This Project is limited to a one-year effort and should not be considered the "final word" on the needs of the Hawaiian community.

B. **Educational/Academic Emphasis.** Each aspect of the study was to be related to educational needs: either through conditions which would lead to educational deficit or through conditions which would be amenable to educational intervention.

C. **Inclusive definition of "Hawaiian."** Following Federal legislation recognizing the Native American status of Hawaiians, a Hawaiian is: "any individual any of whose ancestors were natives of the area which consists of the Hawaiian Islands prior to 1778."

D. **Ages 0-18.** While it is recognized that educational needs may extend well beyond high school years, this Project would be limited to ages 0-18.

E. **Extant data.** The Project would not generate new data, but rely instead, on existing data. (An exception to this guideline was made when it became apparent that it was necessary to conduct a special survey of private schools in Hawai'i to determine needs in that sector.)

METHODOLOGY

The theoretical underpinnings of the Project were taken from a systems theory approach, that of Urie Bronfenbrenner. This "ecological model" encourages a researcher in human development to look at the interrelationships between variables at all levels of influence in a child's world. Beyond the immediate systems of which the child is a part, such as parent-child systems and teacher-child systems, there are higher-order systems which inter-relate to these. Events at the state or even national level have a definite interrelationship with the microsystem of the classroom. For the present Project, this meant that the search for educational needs of Hawaiian children had to be sensitive to historical as well as other large-scale events and trends.

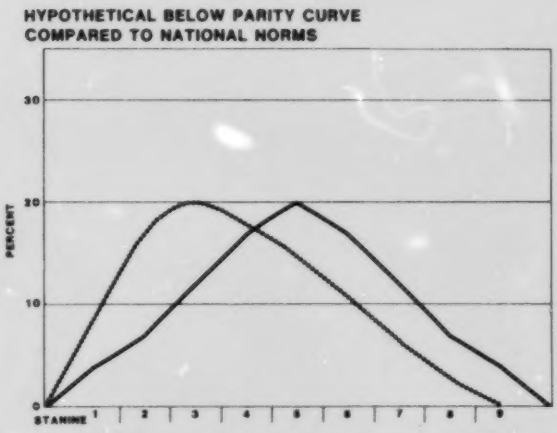
In order to meet Goal I, identifying the unique educational needs of Native Hawaiians, three questions were asked:

1. Do Hawaiian students score below parity with national norms on standardized achievement tests?
2. Do Hawaiian students have other special educational needs not measurable by standardized achievement tests?
3. Do Hawaiian students have culturally related academic needs, or needs which accrue to their unique cultural background?

To answer question 1, achievement test data were collected from the Hawai'i State Department of Education (DOE) and from the private schools throughout the state. The DOE used the Stanford Achievement Test series while the private schools used a variety of standardized tests, including the Stanford. In order to determine whether Hawaiian students were scoring at parity with national norms, curves were drawn based on the percentages of Hawaiian students in each of the nine stanine categories—one being the lowest stanine and nine the highest. These were compared with the curve formed by the national test norming group, a normally distributed curve. To illustrate, a hypothetical below-parity curve is shown contrasted to the national norms in Figure 1.

The *Final Report* presents parity comparisons for each tested grade level (2, 4, 6, 8, and 10), for the available subtests, and across the academic years for which data were available

FIGURE 1:



(1976-77, 1980-81, and 1981-82). Curves are also presented in the *Final Report* for other ethnic groups in Hawai'i, and for Hawaiian males and females. Because the data from the DOE are for **every** Hawaiian child in the tested population, any deviation from the normal distribution is considered a real parity difference. The question, then, is whether the observed differences represent higher percentages in the lower stanines and lower percentages in the upper (as illustrated in Figure 1).

The population of students overall in Hawai'i was drawn from the available data. There were a total of 33,423 Hawaiian children in the DOE in the year 1980-81, or 20.9% of the total of 163,934. The figures in the DOE are an actual count based on a survey of ethnicity completed by each student's parents. In the private schools, data were available only for those students in the test grades of 2, 4, 6, 8 and 10. The numbers of Hawaiian students in those grades permitted an estimate to be made of the total overall. This estimate was 8,558 Hawaiian students, or 24.9% of the total of 34,360 private school students statewide.

To answer questions 2 and 3, three types of data were collected: **Testimonial Data, Social Indicator Data,** and **Social Science Analysis. Testimonial Data** included written testimony presented before congressional hearings, quotations from interviews, and commentary offered by members of the Hawaiian community taken from a wide variety of sources. **Social Indicator Data** were numerical and statistical compilations of information from various institutions and agencies including the Department of Health, the Department of Social Services and Housing, and the Police Depart-

ment. These data gave comparative figures for Hawaii's ethnic groups on standard indicators such as arrest rates, social welfare, and health. **Social Science Analysis** refers to the results of studies conducted by educators, psychologists, anthropologists, public health specialists, and so on. These studies generally contained some observational or experimental data along with analysis by the social scientists. From these sources of data, descriptions of needs were drawn and grouped into relevant categories.

These were as follows:

SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

General Need Area	Conditions
Socioeconomic Status (SES)	Poverty
	Unemployment
	Job Status
	Social Welfare
	Educational Status related to SES
Physical Health	Multiple Health Problems
	Maternal-Child Health Indicators
	Nutrition
	Health Care System
	Health Education in the Schools
Mental Health	Family Stress
	Fear of Learning/ Depression
	Problems in Childrearing
	Problematic Social Behavior
	School Behavior Problems
Alienation	Crime and Juvenile Delinquency
	Community Leadership/ Political Power
	Substance Abuse
	School Attendance
	Spiritual Values and Practices
School System Barriers	Teacher Training
	Quality of Teaching Staff
	Supplementary and Support Services
	Special Education/ Individualized Educational Planning
	School Policies— Promotion/Retention and Grading
	Funding
	Books and Materials
	Curriculum
	Early Childhood Education
	Other Concerns
Physical and Built Environment	Rural Isolation
	Physical Plant

CULTURALLY RELATED ACADEMIC NEEDS

General Need Area	Conditions
Problems at the Interface	Educators' Perceptions of Hawaiian Children
	Workstyle/Values and Attitudes related to Work
	Language
	Peer Orientation
	Interaction with Adults
	Learning Style
	Achievement Aspirations
	Preference for Immediate Gratification
	Male Role Development
	Childrearing Patterns
	Other Areas of Mismatch
Barriers in Hawaiian Culture	Self Attributions
	Internal Dissension
	Counterproductive Behavior
Barriers in Dominant Culture	Stereotyping and Social Role as "Beneficiary"

	Culture-Bound School Curriculum/Institutional "Racism"
	Competition from Other Cultural/Ethnic Groups
	Isolation/Provincialism
Cultural Preservation	Cultural Practices
	Language
	Values
	History
	Cultural Identity
	Self-Sufficiency
	Youth Perspective

The second Goal of the Project was to identify effective Native American and local educational programs aimed at the kinds of needs which were characteristic of the Native Hawaiian. In order to address this Goal, the following question was originally asked:

1. What specific Native American educational programs can be identified which both address needs of Hawaiians and which have proven effective?

As the study progressed it became evident that Native Hawaiian educational needs, even though similar to those of other Native American groups, are in fact unique: that existing programs elsewhere probably could not be simply adopted "as is" by the Hawai'i DOE and prove effective. Accordingly, at the suggestion of the Steering Committee, another question was added to this area of study:

2. What can be learned from local and national "effective schools" research which would be applicable to the Hawaiian situation?

Data for this section of the study came from several sources. The primary source for information on Native American educational programs was the Office of Indian Education of the United States Department of Education. A network of respondents and programs was created to provide the Project staff with information on the possibilities in the Indian Education Act. Additional information on effective programs was sought from the local DOE and other educators in Hawai'i. Information on effective schools research was obtained from sources suggested by the Steering Committee.

To summarize, the methodology for this Project was very eclectic and inclusive. Data were sought and obtained from a number of sources, from small independent schools on the Neighbor Islands of Hawai'i to the Federal Department of Education in Washington, D.C. The findings below represent the most up-to-date information available at this time. Some of the data are far more reliable and sound that others. Many of the findings are tempered by the obvious need to develop new or more reliable sources of data. As with any Needs Assessment, some of the findings will have already changed by the time the report is written. Nonetheless, the findings are the most accurate statement of the condition of education for Hawaiians that exists today.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The findings below are those generated by Goal I of the study, the identification of the unique educational needs of Native Hawaiians.

I. **Overall, Hawaiian students do score below parity with national norms on standardized achievement tests.**

The *Final Report* presents 91 subtest score curves from the Hawai'i DOE showing Hawaiian student performance compared to the national norming distribution on the Stanford Achievement Test series. Only five of these—four at the second grade level and one at the fourth grade level—come close to parity with the normal distribution. All the other curves show a disproportionately high percentage of Hawaiian students in the lower stanines or below average achievement, and a disproportionately low percentage of Hawaiian students in the upper stanines or the above average achievement level. This overall finding, however, must be qualified by the analyses presented of subtest comparison:

a.) The scores of Hawaiian students in the DOE have been improving over the three years of data available for the study.

b.) Standardized test scores are close to national parity at the second grade but are lower at the upper grade levels.

c.) Vocabulary and Math Applications stand out as weaker than the other subtests especially at the lower grade levels.

d.) Hawaiian male students consistently score below females in math and reading.

e.) Scores of Hawaiian students who attend private schools in Hawai'i are consistently at or above national norms.

f.) Public and private schools both show a pattern of low percentages of Hawaiian students in the uppermost stanines.

g.) Certain schools can be specified as most-in-need on the basis of several kinds of educational need.

h.) Hawaiian students score lowest of the four major ethnic groups in Hawaii's schools. Two of these groups score consistently well above national norms on standardized achievement tests.

The issue of disparity, then, is not a simple one. While the Hawaiian students in general continue to score below parity with national groups, the disparity with other local groups is even greater. The data point out the importance of making a careful determination of need for focused educational intervention.

II. **Hawaiians are disproportionately represented in many negative social and physical statistics, indicative of special educational needs.**

The data in the *Final Report* have been grouped together in this section into six General Need Areas. A total of 32 Need Conditions are subsumed under these general need areas. Whereas each condition represents some form of need, the following set represents the priority findings under each General Need Area:

a.) Lower educational achievement among Hawaiians has been found to relate to lower socio-economic outcomes.

b.) Hawaiians are beset with multiple health problems.

c.) Hawaiian children are disproportionately victimized by child abuse and neglect, a signal of family stress.

d.) Hawaiian students are over-represented among those qualifying for special education, that is, learning disabled, mentally retarded educable, handicapped, etc.

e.) Hawaiian students are disproportionately absent from school.

f.) There are and will continue to be geographically rural, isolated areas with a high Hawaiian population density.

Hawaiian students face a plethora of special educational needs which are not measurable by standardized tests. Absenteeism is the clearest signal that schools are not meeting some basic needs of these students. Many of the data and statistics in this section of the report have not been reported before, and it is not possible to provide evidence of temporal trends in this overall area. There are no indications, however, of large scale improvements in these areas. In some categories, such as health, (i.e. teenage pregnancy), the available evidence suggests no change over the past five years. These seem to have become stable indicators. The general picture which emerges from a consideration of all of these need categories and conditions is that educational needs of Native Hawaiians are inextricably interwoven with other social and physical needs. Many of these have either direct educational spinoff effects or are themselves conditions which could be alleviated through educational means.

III. **Hawaiian students do have educational needs which are related to their unique cultural situation.**

This area of the *Final Report* looked at those documentable conditions which were peculiar to the culture of modern Hawaiians. Included were: observed or reported elements of socially transmitted values, beliefs, attitudes or forms such as language, art, music, sport, games, and play, which affect or are affected by the educational process. The methodology for this section was the same as that used for the Special Educational Needs section. There were four General Need Areas and a total of 26 Need Conditions identified from testimonial, social indicator, and social science data. Those conditions identified as priorities from the *Final Report* include the following:

a.) Hawaiian students have a different learning style, emphasizing peer orientation, affiliation, and an active experience preference, than is usually expected in a classroom.

b.) Hawaiian students tend to have a low self image.

c.) Curriculum in the Hawai'i DOE tends

not to be culturally relevant to Hawaiian children.

d.) A so-called "Hawaiian cultural renaissance," or renewed community interest in things Hawaiian, seems to be developing a new sense of pride among Hawaiian children.

One of the major themes of this section of the *Final Report* is that many modern Hawaiians retain a sense of culture loss: that events which led inexorably toward the suppression of Hawaiian values, lifestyles, language, and beliefs have left as their legacy a variety of stresses on the present population. Many have learned and are learning to cope effectively with these stresses. Many others, however, express bitterness and resentment over these events and what they perceive to be the negative social outcomes for Native Hawaiians. The *Final Report* documents the feelings of powerlessness and despair which are held to be one of the outcomes of culture loss. Also documented, however, is the positive force perceived in the resurgence of interest in traditional Hawaiian culture. Much research remains to be done in the area of culture and mental health among Hawaiians.

While some students of the culture look at values, beliefs, and forms such as chant and dance, others look at childrearing patterns, learning styles and motivation. Many discoveries in these areas have been made in recent years by anthropologists, social psychologists, and psycholinguists and are reported in the *Final Report*. These reinforce the notion that the modern Hawaiian culture does have distinctive features which play a major role in the success or failure of students in the predominantly non-Hawaiian culture of the classroom. Advances also have been made in interpreting the unique Hawaiian cultural patterns so that the most effective use may be made of them in the classroom context.

Goal II of the Project was to identify effective Native American educational programs which address needs similar to those identified for Native Hawaiians. The NHEAP Steering Committee also requested that the Project staff investigate effective local programs in Hawai'i as well as the national "effective schools" research. The following findings present the results of these efforts.

IV. Existing Native American educational programs did not provide a ready match for Native Hawaiian needs within the scope of this study.

The *Final Report* described the process by which the attempt was made to link up identified needs with existing specific programs. The primary source of information about Native American programs was the Office of Indian Education. A network of respondents from each of the nine regional headquarters of the Indian Education Act was created, and staff of the office in Washington, D.C., who were the most familiar with individual programs, were interviewed. The intent was to generate a list of effective program nominations. This effort resulted in a list of 76 individual projects which were contacted by mail. Information regarding their objectives, structure, and evaluation data was solicited. Responses were sent back by 45 of these nominated projects. This was out of a total of 1,173 programs conducted by the Office of Indian Education.

Analysis of the information sent by the particular Native American programs did not permit the kind of need-program matchup that had originally been anticipated. There were several reasons for this:

- First, many of the programs did not have effectiveness data.
- Second, the identified needs list was so extensive that almost all programs met at least some of the needs, while none met all.
- Third, and most importantly, the legislation defining the Indian Education Act imposed systemic constraints such that all the programs had to have certain characteristics in order to meet the rules and regulations of the act. These characteristics, in some cases, made the basic nature of the particular programs not applicable to the context of Hawai'i.

For example, programs under the Indian Education Act are constrained to work only with Indian children. In-school tutoring programs, then, must be "pull-out" programs in which identified Indian children leave their regular class to meet with their tutor. The same applies to cultural instruction in the schools: limited to Indian children.

In the context of Hawaii's schools, pulling children out on the basis of ethnicity for special tutoring or cultural instruction would not be

effective. While it was instructive to see the effects of the contingencies of funding rules and regulations on program structure and format, it did not result in a match of Hawaiian needs to Native American programs.

The most common characteristics of the respondent programs were tutoring in basic skills, cultural instruction, counseling assistance, and parental involvement (the latter also being a matter of legislative fiat). Since these general approaches cover such a wide spectrum of educational need, it is held that effective programs utilizing these approaches should be developed according to the specifications of the need situations in Hawai'i.

V. **Educational research and development projects in Hawai'i and on the mainland have identified principals of effective schooling which can be applied to the unique needs of Native Hawaiian students.**

Earlier sections of the *Final Report* gave data showing that the achievement test performance of Hawaiian students, while still below parity, is improving. While causal explanations for the improvement are beyond the scope of this study, one hypothesis would be that the Hawai'i DOE has, in these years, conducted a number of special programs aimed at improving the basic skills in the elementary grades, particularly those of the lowest-scoring students. These programs, such as various types of Title I funded programs, have reached some percentage of Hawaiian students, although they have not targeted Hawaiian students in particular. That any one of these might be particularly effective for Hawaiian students is a matter for further research.

A major research and development effort specifically targeting Hawaiian students has been conducted by The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate in Honolulu. Called the Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP), it has identified teaching procedures, curriculum structure, and learning activities which are both consonant with observed Hawaiian cultural patterns and effective at promoting achievement in reading comprehension. Summative program evaluation data as well as independent validation in a study by the Ford Foundation have provided support for the effectiveness of the KEEP approach. Further research is currently underway, including methods for successfully disseminating the findings. The KEEP findings have proven locally effective but, thus far, have addressed only a small band of the overall spectrum of educational needs facing Hawaiians.

National research has been conducted on "effective schools." The concept was to identify schools which were successful in spite of factors associated with failure elsewhere. If even some schools were successfully educating poor, urban minority students, the principles which these schools espouse should prove effective elsewhere, it was argued. This research was found to result in several sets of principles. One set is:

1. The more time spent on instruction, the greater the achievement gain.
2. The greater the amount of parental involvement, the greater the achievement.
3. High expectations on the part of the principal are associated with greater achievement.
4. High teacher expectations are associated with high achievement.
5. Higher achievement gains are more likely to occur in classrooms characterized by a high degree of structure, with teachers who are supportive.
6. The use of positive feedback or reinforcement by teachers is associated with greater achievement.
7. The use of tutoring is related to achievement.
8. Recitation promotes greater achievement gains.

This particular list was derived for the Michigan State Department of Education by the ESEA I Evaluation Assistance Center Educational Testing Service, Evanston, Illinois. Other lists have been created by other researchers. There is a good deal of overlap. Direct instructional tutoring, high scholastic expectations, parental involvement, and means for monitoring progress are common elements.

To conclude this section, the effort to identify effective programs began with a focus on Native American education; this was the setting which seemed to hold the greatest degree of similarity to the Native Hawaiian situation. The investigation proceeded to become both more "local" and more "universal." That is, the need to tailor educational programs to the

particular culture and context became clear, hence, the existence of even one "local" and effective program was significant. On the other hand, the spectrum of educational needs is beyond that which can be addressed by a single locally effective program. What is required is a continuous process of development, of reflecting locally derived principles off of nationally validated programs and findings. In other words, this is a dialectical and dynamic process. There are no educational panaceas, no single pre-packaged plan which can meet Hawaiians' educational needs indefinitely.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The NHEAP *Final Report* contains an enormous amount and variety of information about the educational needs of Native Hawaiians. The assembly and analysis of this information was guided by an ecological theory which required a multi-level perspective. Recommendations could be made which target each of these levels. That is, it would be possible to derive recommendations at the microsystem level involving parent-child and teacher-child dyads. It would also be possible to make recommendations at the broadest or macrosystem level. The Recommendations below do not target a specific intervention level. Development of action initiatives, it is hoped, will proceed at **all** possible levels.

I. **Continue to emphasize Basic Skills; build upon success with lower-achieving students; build success for potential higher-achieving students.**

a.) Curriculum development in areas requiring attention such as Vocabulary and Math Applications in lower grades.

b.) Intensive Basic Skills for High School students with very low scores.

c.) Programs to locate and individually assist high-potential Hawaiian students.

d.) High-impact educational aid for individual most-in-need schools with high Hawaiian populations.

e.) Teacher training and dissemination of culturally compatible basic skills curricula developed locally.

II. **Develop interagency programs aimed at individualizing support for Hawaiian students and families with special needs.**

a.) Parent-child health and developmental support programs.

b.) Pre-parenting; Teen pregnancy and parenting programs; Family and community stress reduction programs.

c.) Culturally-valid screening and individual program development for Hawaiian students with developmental disabilities as well as for gifted and talented students.

d.) Job skills and occupational awareness training; forward-looking emphasis on fields such as computer and electronic technology.

e.) Scholarship programs; encouragement of higher education.

f.) Stay-in-school and return-to-school programs; effective alternatives in school to increase time-on-task and reduce absenteeism.

g.) Use of available television and telecommunication technology to reduce effects of rural isolation.

III. **Support Hawaiian and Multi-cultural Studies.**

a.) Programs emphasizing breaking of cultural stereotypes, creative use of children's television.

b.) Development of more culturally relevant curriculum materials.

c.) Hawaiian Studies programs.

d.) Programs exploring values for the individual multi-cultural Hawaiian child.

IV. **Conduct further research into educational needs related to the unique cultural situation of Native Hawaiians.**

a.) Conduct more in-depth SAT subtest analyses. What are the common elements among subtests which continue to show a depressed profile across grade levels? What are the specific instructional objectives which are the stumbling blocks for Hawaiian students?

b.) Discover what kind of continuing Needs Assessment data collection should be set up for the future.

c.) Find out what the perceptions of the Hawaiian community are regarding the importance and form of Hawaiian cultural studies as recommended in the DOE and private schools.

d.) Conduct studies investigating the relationship between culture, culture loss, stress, mental health, and academic performance, and epidemiological studies of mental health problems of Hawaiian students.

e.) Investigate interagency working models. What are the most effective forms of public/private agency working relationships; human services/educational agencies; research/direct educational services?

f.) Investigate further the complex interrelationship between culture, socioeconomic status, and academic performance.

g.) Conduct effective schools research. Find schools in Hawai'i where Hawaiian students are performing at a higher level than expected. Ask why.

h.) Research what elements of Hawaiian culture are compatible with the DOE environment. What more can be learned about the basic Hawaiian cultural forms?

i.) Investigate community stress reduction. Develop educational programs to use in communities with severe social stress indicators.

This report has documented the educational needs of Native Hawaiians across ecosystem levels. The recommendations above are but one interpretation of approaches to these needs. More can and should be developed at all levels by users of this report, from specific Federal initiatives to local planning. Although the documented needs are in many cases severe, they are not irremediable. Instead of being another minority educational tragedy, the story of Native Hawaiians can and should be an American success story.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

In the year 1959 the American nation came to include as one of its States a group of islands in the Pacific Ocean known collectively as Hawaii. Its residents included groups of people with many different ancestral and cultural backgrounds. Among them were the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of the islands. From dim origins in the vast Pacific Basin their ancestors had come, the first to see, to settle, and to thrive in the islands. Their epic voyages of migration over uncharted waters are thought to have first reached Hawaii sometime between 500 and 800 A.D., a time when European seafarers were loathe to venture out of the sight of land. A relatively stable culture and lifestyle developed and flourished until the year 1778, when Hawaii was first seen by western eyes, those of Captain James Cook and his crew. Less than two hundred years later, Hawaii had become the fiftieth of the United States.

And what of the Hawaiians? In that historically brief period they had seen their land claimed by others, their values and language lost, their own numbers decimated by disease, their very existence threatened. Statehood was only the most recent in the series of events which has modernized and Americanized Hawaii. It also helped to focus attention on the fact that Hawaiians now share with other native and minority groups within America a legacy of educational and social inequalities.

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment Project exists in recognition of the long-standing patterns of low educational achievement and high social alienation experienced by individuals of Native Hawaiian ancestry. For most of this century, while these problems were known to exist, there were few data available to quantify their severity, to define their geographic scope, to reflect whether conditions were improving, or even to indicate how Hawaiians felt about their situation.

Efforts to obtain answers to these and other questions took a turn in 1974 when Hawaiians were granted Native American designation by Congress (P.L. 93-644). This led to the creation of a non-profit organization to serve as a recipient body for public and private funds that are intended to assist Hawaiians to develop economic and social self-sufficiency.

One of the initial activities of this organization, Alu Like, was to conduct a comprehensive statewide needs assessment survey of Hawaiians. The survey results indicated that Hawaiians identified education as the highest priority area requiring redress.

With this in mind, representatives of the Hawaiian community conferred with Indian groups and governmental officials in an attempt to broaden the definition of "Native American" contained in the Indian Education Act to include Hawaiians. Broadening the definition was not feasible.

Efforts were subsequently re-directed to encouraging passage by Congress of separate legislation, the Native Hawaiian Education Act, that would extend to Hawaiians benefits comparable to those being offered Indians. Attempts to pass such legislation resulted, instead, in the creation by Congress in 1980 of an Advisory Council on Hawaiian Education.

However, before the Advisory Council could begin its work, the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 was passed, rescinding authorization of funds for all programs newly created in 1980.

Notwithstanding the effect of the Budget Reconciliation Act on the Advisory Council, the Senate Appropriations Committee instructed the Office of Education in 1981 to submit to Congress a comprehensive report on Native Hawaiian education. These instructions were accompanied by an offer from The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate to underwrite costs of conducting the assessment and preparing the report.

The needs assessment plan was cooperatively developed by representatives of the Office of Education (sponsor) and The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate (contractor at no public expense.)

Guiding the direction of the Assessment and monitoring the progress of staff was an Executive Steering Committee comprised of the following individuals:

Myron B. Thompson, Chairman — Trustee, The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate.

Urie Bronfenbrenner — Professor of Human Development and Family Studies and of Psychology, Cornell University.

Thomas Cook — Professor of Psychology, Northwestern University.

Harriette Holt — University of Hawaii law school student and former researcher Hawaii State Legislature.

Pauline King — Professor of History, University of Hawaii.

Hamilton McCubbin — Chairman and Professor, Department of Family Social Science, University of Minnesota.

Frank Ryan — Acting Director, Organizational Performance Services, Office of Management, Department of Education.

Robert Sweet — Executive Director, National Council for Educational Research.

Benjamin Young — Dean of Students, School of Medicine, University of Hawaii.

Staffing of the study consisted of the following individuals:

Neil J. Hannahs — Project Director and Director of Communications/Community Relations, The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate.

Jim Brough — Assessment Manager and Director of Support Services, The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate.

Sherlyn Franklin — Washington, D.C. Liaison.

Program Evaluation and Planning Staff:

Ormond Hammond — Director, Program Evaluation and Planning.

Christopher Melahn — Evaluation Specialist

Jana Hall — Research Assistant

Gail Aoki — Administrative Assistant

Kelcey Reeves — Clerk-Typist

Kathleen Fleming — Clerk-Typist

PURPOSE AND GOALS OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment has been to produce a comprehensive report that includes information relative to the following two goals:

1. **To identify the unique educational needs of Native Hawaiians.**

   This Goal was addressed through three questions:

   a.) Do Hawaiian students score below parity with national norms on standardized achievement tests?

   b.) Do Hawaiian students have other special educational needs not measurable by standardized achievement tests?

   c.) Do Hawaiian students have culturally related academic needs, or needs which accrue to their unique cultural background?

2. **To identify effective Native American and local educational programs which could meet the unique needs of Native Hawaiians.**

   This Goal was addressed by the following question:

   a.) What specified Native American educational programs can be identified which could effectively meet the needs of Native Hawaiians?

   Another question was added later by the Executive Steering Committee:

   b.) What can be learned from local programs and from national "effective schools" research which would be applicable to the Hawaiian situation?

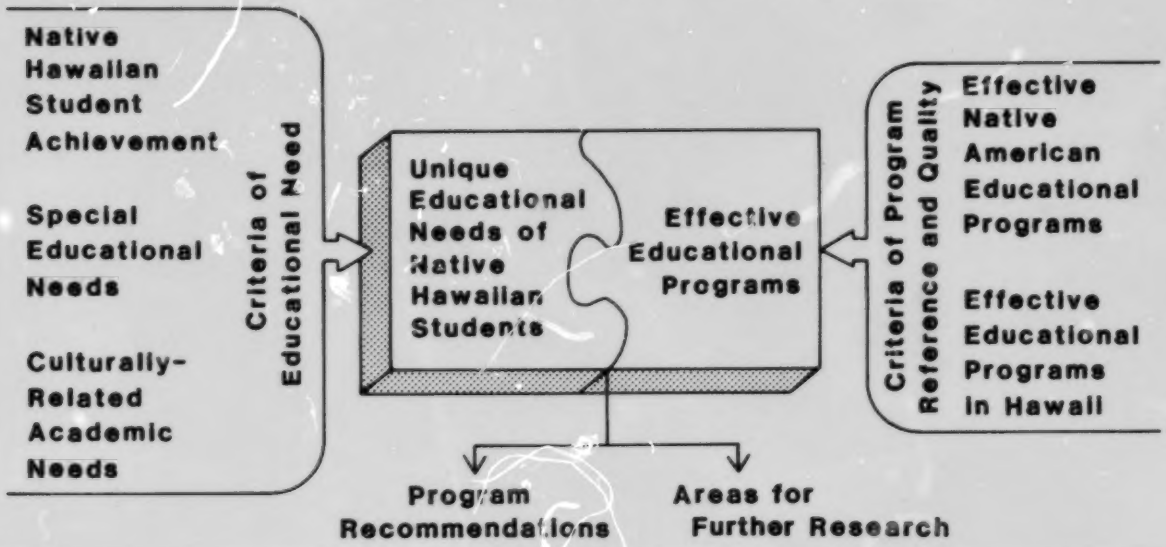
Figure 1 presents a model of the study design showing how the two Goals above are conceptualized as leading to two complementary pieces of a larger puzzle.

The Project was to work within certain parameters. These were:

A. **Continuous Needs Assessment.** The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate has been and will continue to be actively involved in developing accurate Needs Assessment infor-

FIGURE 1

NATIVE HAWAIIAN EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT PROJECT


Native Hawaiian Student Achievement
Special Educational Needs
Culturally-Related Academic Needs
Criteria of Educational Need
Unique Educational Needs of Native Hawaiian Students
Effective Educational Programs
Criteria of Program Reference and Quality
Effective Native American Educational Programs
Effective Educational Programs in Hawaii
Program Recommendations
Areas for Further Research

mation for and about the Native Hawaiian population.

B. **Educational/Academic Emphasis.** Each aspect of the study was to be relatable to educational needs: either conditions which would lead to educational deficit or which would be amenable to educational intervention.

C. **Inclusive definition of "Hawaiian."** Following federal legislation recognizing the Native American status of Hawaiians, a Hawaiian is: "any individual any of whose ancestors were natives of the area which consists of the Hawaiian Islands prior to 1778."

D. **Ages 0 - 18.** While it is recognized that educational needs may extend well beyond high school years, this Project would be limited to ages 0 - 18.

E. **Extant data.** The Project would not generate new data, but rely, instead, on existing data. (An exception to this guideline was made when it became apparent that it was necessary to conduct a special survey of private schools in Hawaii to determine needs in that sector).

The project officially began in February 1982. Findings are to be reported to the sponsor during the second quarter of calendar year 1983.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

While goals, objectives, and an active executive steering committee were extremely valuable in guiding the direction of the study, a theoretical framework was also essential. It was felt that the necessary theoretical position for this educational needs assessment had to consider both the Hawaiian child in today's complex world and the cumulative events of history impinging on the child. The framework proposed by Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) provided a useful approach to the ecology of human development. It offered a structure to sort out the phenomena, highlight the issues, ask questions, and integrate data about socio-educational-cultural risk. It encouraged an analysis of patterns of educational needs and the formulation of hypotheses of causal relationships.

Like other models, the ecology of human development relies on some special terminology that requires definition. Bronfenbrenner would see the experience of the Hawaiian child "as a set of nested structures, each inside the next . . ." (1979, p. 22). This concept suggests that in looking at educational risk and

educational opportunity, one must look both to the level "beyond" and the level "within" to understand the forces surrounding and affecting the developing child. For example, if one observes a disproportionate level of school failure in Hawaiian children, it may be necessary to look "beyond" to the cultural factors that define the world of the child as well as socio-economic factors that erect barriers to the learning experience of the Hawaiian youngster. At the same time, one must look within to the parent-child relationships and child-teacher relationships that are affected by cultural values and the changing roles of the family within the changing society. One must also look "across" to see how multiple systems (family, school, culture, economics) adjust to new conditions over time — changes that may have, in fact, resulted in major transformations of such systems and the Hawaiian child as an element within.

This ecological model embraces four levels of interaction that may enhance or inhibit the learning of Hawaiian children. Each of these will be briefly described:

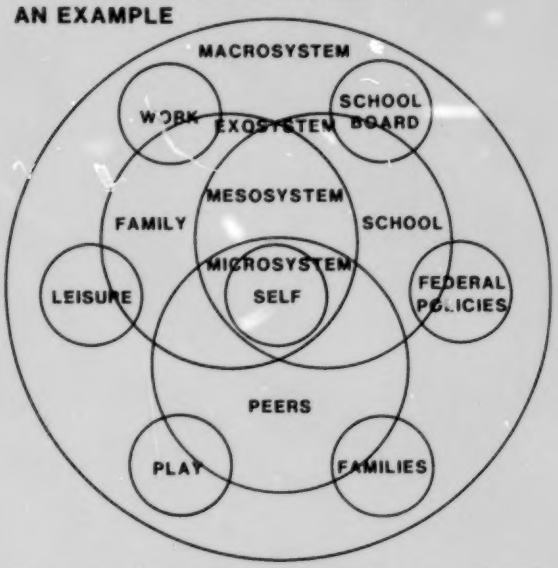
- **Microsystem** — This level is the most immediate to developing children and encompasses the actual setting of the youngster — the places they live, the people with whom they interact; parent-child relationships, teacher-child relationships, etc.
- **Mesosystem** — These are relationships between various microsystems in which the Hawaiian child experiences reality; for example, home:school, peer groups: school, etc. The richness of the mesosystems for the child depends on the number and quality of the connections. Minimal and/or conflicting linkages will place the child at risk, particularly if there is little agreement and overlap between home and school in terms of values, experiences, language, objects, and behavioral style. In such a disparate condition, the odds would favor poor academic achievement by youngsters.
- **Exosystem** — These systems bear upon a child's development and yet the child is not necessarily a participant at this level. They include such forces as school boards (and rules/regulations) and parents' work settings. Exosystems may contribute to at-risk conditions of Hawaiian children when the child's parents suffer in a way that negatively affects the child's learning, or when decisions made in such exosystems adversely affect the youngster. For example, a school board could prescribe a set of behavioral expectations in conflict with culture related values of the child's home. Exosystem risk occurs when the child lacks effective advocates in decision-making bodies. Thus, such risk may be largely a political matter — a matter of "clout."
- **Macrosystem** — These are the broad ideological and institutional patterns of a particular culture, the "blueprints" for human development. Macrosystems are the shared assumptions and shared expectations of a people. "Macrosystem refers to the general organization of the world as it is **and** as it might be. The existence of historical change demonstrates that the 'might be' is quite real, and occurs through evolution (many individual decisions guided by a common perception of reality) and through revolution introduced by a small cadre of decision-makers." (Garbarino, 1982, p. 24) Macrosystem risk occurs when an ideology or cultural alignment inhibits the educational development of the child by erecting learning barriers in the exosystems, mesosystems, and microsystems of that person. For example, patterns of racist values, economic sanctions, or political suppression or repression may be demeaning to parents and stress-producing in both parents and children to the extent of inhibiting the learning process.

These levels of a complex, interrelated system may be seen as nested hierarchically, as illustrated in Figure 2.

As Figure 2 suggests, this systems theoretic concept avoids some of the pitfalls of the traditional linear explanatory models. Cause and effect are not considered a one-way street: events at the mesosystem level, for example, contribute to the developing macrosystem just as events at the higher system levels will inevitably have effects on the developing child. The implication is that changes at the upper levels have far-reaching consequences. Some of these changes at the upper levels do not occur in a slow-moving evolutionary manner.

FIGURE 2

THE ECOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT: AN EXAMPLE



Abrupt changes at the macrosystem level will clearly change the daily lives of all within. Bronfenbrenner refers to this kind of change as a "transforming experiment." The definition he offers is:

> "A transforming experiment involves the systematic alteration and restructuring of existing ecological systems in ways that challenge the forms of social organization, belief systems, and lifestyles prevailing in a particular culture or subculture." (1979, p. 41).

The value of the ecological model to the Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment Project lies primarily in providing the staff with a broad strategy for data gathering and an integrated approach to the analysis of the data. The concept of transforming experiment, for example, provides a way of looking at historical events in Hawaii in terms of their potential effect on the microsystems of Hawaiian families and schools. As stated at the outset, the macrosystem changes of the past two hundred years have totally altered the world of Native Hawaiians.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

For the reader to gain a better understanding of the macrosystem of modern Hawaii, a brief summary of some of the significant historical events in Hawaiian history will be presented. As the ecological theory would suggest, many of these events have come to elicit strong emotional reactions, making a simple rendering of the "facts" virtually impossible. Because the study staff did not want to impose yet another interpretational bias on these events, they are chronicled below just as they are reported in a publication issued by the State of Hawaii and the Hawaii Visitors Bureau (1981). The effects of these events on the Native Hawaiian population will be discussed in more detail later in this report.

No one yet knows when Hawaii was first inhabited. It was long believed that the Polynesians first arrived in Hawaii from Tahiti around 1000 A.D., but new discoveries have suggested that the true date may be closer to the 6th century A.D.

Researchers believe that the Polynesians who conquered the Pacific in their double-hulled canoes came originally from Southeast Asia. Tahiti is thought to be one center of Polynesian development, but there is evidence indicating that Hawaii was first settled from the Marquesas. Regardless, to those familiar with the vast reaches of the Pacific Ocean, the seamanship of the Polynesians is a feat of staggering proportions.

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

Hawaii was "discovered" by the western world in 1778, when British Captain James Cook sighted Oahu. Cook named the archipelago the Sandwich Islands, after his patron, the Earl of Sandwich, and for many years the islands were so known in the western world. In January 1779, Cook was slain in a fight with the Hawaiians at Kealakekua on the Island of Hawaii.

KAMEHAMEHA THE GREAT

At the time of Cook's arrival each island was ruled as an independent kingdom by hereditary chiefs. One such chief, Kamehameha, consolidated his power on the island of Hawaii in a series of battles, about 1790, and then conquered Maui and Oahu. By the time of his death in 1819, Kamehameha I had united the islands under his rule and had established the Kingdom of Hawaii which survived until 1893.

MISSIONARIES ARRIVE IN 1820

In 1820, the first American missionaries ar-

rived from New England. Not only did they bring Christianity to a people becoming disillusioned with their ancient gods, but they represented the first of several migrations which led to the cosmopolitan character of Hawaii's people today. In the years since Cook's arrival, Hawaii had become a haven for vessels and had opened a trade in sandalwood with China, profitable for the King and the chiefs, but a burden on the people who had to gather the wood. The introduction of western diseases and liquor, and the breakdown of the ancient morality had created a chaotic situation. The missionaries gained great success because they aligned themselves with the chiefs against some of these evils.

KAMEHAMEHA II AND III

Kamehameha's eldest son, Liholiho, took the title of Kamehameha II. His short reign was noted for the official demise of the old religion and the breakdown of ancient taboos. Liholiho and his queen both died of measles within a few days of each other while visiting London in 1824.

Another son of Kamehameha, Kauikeaouli, was proclaimed King with the title of Kamehameha III. During his 30-year reign, many hazards to the little kingdom were surmounted, and its independence recognized by the great powers: France, Britain and the United States. In his reign, a semi-feudal inheritance was gradually transformed into a constitutional monarchy.

Among notable events during this reign were the opening of Lahainaluna School on Maui in 1831, the oldest high school west of the Rocky Mountains; the proclamation of a Constitution (1840); the strengthening of the principle of private property through the Great Mahele (1848).

In 1845 King Kamehameha III and the Legislature moved to Honolulu from the capital at Lahaina, on Maui; on August 31, 1850 he declared Honolulu officially to be a city, and the Capital of the Kingdom.

MANY IMMIGRANTS ARRIVE

During the middle of the 19th century, Hawaii was a center of whaling activity. An infant sugar industry had found a shortage of plantation labor, and in 1852 Chinese were brought into the Kingdom by contract. Thus began the stream of imported labor which lasted until 1946. The first Japanese came in 1868, while Filipinos started arriving at a much later date. Koreans, Portuguese and Puerto Ricans are among the other national groups brought to the islands.

With the death of Kamehameha V, the line of direct descendants of Kamehameha ended, and the legislature, following a plebiscite, elected Prince William C. Lunalilo as King. He died a year later, and David Kalakaua was elected his successor.

KING KALAKAUA

Despite his being known as the Merry Monarch, Kalakaua's reign (1874-1891) was a stormy one. He was continually battling for an increase in the personal authority of the King. His efforts, however, were unsuccessful, and under pressure he signed a new constitution in 1887 which further limited his power, and set up a cabinet type government responsible to the Legislature.

HAWAII BECOMES A REPUBLIC

Kalakaua died in 1891 during a visit to San Francisco, and was succeeded by his sister, Liliuokalani. The last Hawaiian monarch, she reigned less than two years. Her policy was to eliminate the restrictions which had been placed on the Monarchy, and to this end she attempted to proclaim still another constitution. This led in 1893 to a bloodless "revolution," her deposition as Queen, and the formation of a provisional government under the leadership of Sanford Ballard Dole.

The Provisional Government requested annexation by the United States, but President Grover Cleveland was not in sympathy with the Provisional Government or with the revolution, and refused. The Provisional Government then converted Hawaii into a Republic and Dole was proclaimed President in 1894.

ANNEXATION IN 1898

President William McKinley had a more sympathetic attitude regarding annexation, and the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898 brought matters to a head. Hawaii's strategic military importance in the Pacific was recognized, particularly its potential threat to the United States were another great power to occupy the islands. By Joint Resolution of Congress, the islands were officially annexed, and formal transfer of sovereignty was made on August 12, 1898.

With annexation, the pattern for Hawaii's development during the next few decades was set. The sugar industry and the new pineapple industry were developed, and a continual stream of laborers was brought to the islands.

DEVELOPMENT IN THE '20s and '30s

During the 1920s increased efforts to promote Hawaii for tourists were initiated.

The effects of the great depression in the 1930s were not as serious in Hawaii as they were in more industrialized areas. With growing international tensions, and particularly the aggressions of Japan in the Far East, the '30s saw a build-up of American military power in Hawaii.

PEARL HARBOR – 1941

International tensions burst into flame at 7:55 a.m. on the morning of December 7, 1941, when the first Japanese bombs fell on Pearl Harbor, causing nearly 4,000 casualties, and seriously crippling the great American fleet berthed there. Hawaii quickly mushroomed into an armed camp, and was the nerve center of America's whole Pacific war effort.

POSTWAR CHANGES

With the outbreak of the Korean conflict in 1950, Hawaii was again called upon for sacrifice. The unpreparedness of the nation as a whole led to a particularly heavy demand on Hawaii, closest to the conflict, and Hawaii's people suffered more military casualties per capita than any state in the union.

Since the end of the Korean conflict, Hawaii has enjoyed an explosive economic growth. It is one of the fastest growing states in the union.

The rapid development of air transportation, culminating in larger and faster jets, has brought more and more visitors to the islands and tourism has become Hawaii's largest source of basic income, followed by Federal military expenditures. In 1980, tourism poured more money into the economy than all agricultural products combined.

Construction boomed in the '60s and early '70s as facilities were provided for visitors and for Hawaii's growing population. High-rise buildings mushroomed in Waikiki and major resort areas developed on Maui, Hawaii, Kauai, and Molokai.

From the '30s through the '50s the dominant political theme in Hawaii was Statehood.

HAWAII BECOMES A STATE

All these efforts finally culminated in success in 1959, when John A. Burns was Delegate, and both Houses of Congress passed the necessary legislation on March 12. Hawaii officially entered the American Union as the 50th State on August 21, 1959.

DEMOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW

Throughout the period of history since Captain Cook landed, major changes have occurred in the demographic patterns of Hawaii. There have been two major trends relative to the Hawaiian population. First, there has been a steady decline in the numbers of "pure" Hawaiians. Estimates of several hundred thousand Hawaiians resident in the islands were made by early travelers. By the year 1900 the numbers had been reduced to approximately 40,000 (Lind, 1980). Today one estimate of pure Hawaiians is 9,366 (State of Hawaii Data Book, 1981).

The other major trend has been the steady **increase**, since the mid-1800s, of the number of part-Hawaiians. Today the part-Hawaiian population has the highest birth rate of any group and is one of the four largest ethnic/cultural groups in Hawaii.

Ethnic/cultural definitions have always posed problems in as diverse a context as Hawaii. The definition of "Hawaiian" has changed periodically over the past several decades, meaning that the absolute numbers represented on any one survey may differ dramatically from those on another in the same period of time. A prime example is that of the United States Census. The 1980 Census did not differentiate between Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian. It had one category: Hawaiian. By self-report on this Census, there were a total of 115,500 Hawaiians in the State of Hawaii, or 12.0% of the population of 965,691.

The State of Hawaii Department of Health figures, on the other hand, show totals of 9,366 Hawaiian and 166,087 part-Hawaiians, for a total of 175,453 or 18.9% of the state population of 930,270. The latter figure is the more frequently cited, since the Census process was thought to have resulted in an undercount.

For this study the definition of "Hawaiian" is the inclusive one. It is based on the definition

included in Federal legislation (P.L. 93-644, 1974) granting Native Hawaiians Native American status: "any individual any of whose ancestors were natives of the area which consists of the Hawaiian islands prior to 1778." Thus the figures of the Department of Health are considered the more accurate. The other ethnic/cultural groups in Hawaii, from the Department of Health figures, are as follows:

Caucasian	244,832	26.3%
Japanese	218,176	23.5%
Hawaiian/ part-Hawaiian	175,453	18.9%
Filipino	104,547	11.2%
Mixed (non-Hawaiian)	87,840	9.4%
Chinese	47,275	5.1%
Korean	11,803	1.3%
Negro	11,799	1.3%
Samoan	11,173	1.2%
Puerto Rican	6,649	.7%
Other	10,723	1.2%
TOTAL	930,270	100%

The estimated **de facto** population of the State of Hawaii is over one million, due to the presence of an average of 96,500 visitors per day. The population is young, with a median age of 28.4 years. Currently, about 5,000 babies are born each year who are Hawaiian by the definition above.

This brief look at the historical and demographic context only scratches the surface of the complexity of social life in Hawaii. The descendants of the aboriginal Polynesian inhabitants of Hawaii face a world far different from that which their ancestors created. The next sections of this report will document the kinds of educational and related barriers which confront the Hawaiian children of today.

CHAPTER II

Native Hawaiian Student Achievement

In Hawaii it is said that there are no minority groups . . . since **every** group is a minority group. Hawaiian students, for example, represent only 21% of the 200,000 elementary and secondary students statewide. Yet they are among the four largest ethnic groups, along with Caucasians, Japanese, and Filipinos. If, as a group, they are suffering from severe educational problems, it is a significant problem for educators in Hawaii and elsewhere. Is it really true that their academic achievement lags behind that of other children as has been suggested in recent testimony and literature? If so, is this true in all subject areas? For all grade levels? For private school Hawaiian students as well as public school students? This study attempts to systematically answer these questions by comparing certain indicators of achievement against certain standards. The underlying question is whether Hawaiian students are "at parity" with other students, both nationally and in Hawaii.

THE PARITY HYPOTHESIS

In the conceptual sense, parity means equal educational outcomes as well as opportunities. As such, it is a concept near and dear to American education in recent years. It has proven difficult to define in an operational sense, however, since there is no universal agreement as to what constitutes meaningful educational outcomes. The continuing controversy over testing demonstrates the lack of an agreed-upon standard against which to measure educational progress. This report will not argue that there are, or should be, universally agreed-upon standards or measures of educational outcomes. It will, however, present the best evidence currently available on the status of a group which should not be expected, purely on the basis of ancestry, to be performing more poorly than other groups. The best available data bearing on this question happens to come from the standardized testing program of the State of Hawaii Department of Education. Data from the private schools of Hawaii have also been assembled. Based on these data, the parity hypothesis would state that:

> There is a difference between the performance of Hawaiian students on standardized tests and the performance of other students, nationally and in Hawaii.

How can it be determined if there are differences and what the observed differences might mean? The answer relates to the form and quality of data available, and these will be discussed in the next section. What was found, however, was that the scores of all Hawaiian students in the DOE could be compared to the national norming group by simply plotting the curve of percentages of students scoring in each of the nine stanines on any given test administration. The norming process assures that the curve for the national comparison group is normally distributed. The degree, then, to which the curve representing Hawaiian students is skewed or differs from this normal distribution is the absolute degree to which the Hawaiian students are not "at parity." According to most recent literature on the subject (see Chapter III), one would expect to find the Hawaiians scoring **below** national norms.

SOURCES OF DATA

A. The DOE Data

The Department of Education of the State of Hawaii (DOE) began using the Stanford Achievement Test (SAT) series for statewide testing in 1975-76. At about the same time the DOE began a survey of the ethnicity of its students in order to comply with federal regulations relating to bi-lingual education. This survey asks each student's parents to indicate the student's ethnicity. Thus, if a student is listed as Hawaiian, that is what the parents declared the student to be (Chapter I discusses definitions of Hawaiians). The existence of these two sources of data permits the cross tabulation of test scores by ethnicity. The data to be presented in this chapter are based on this determination. The actual process by which the "curves" of Hawaiian student achievement were drawn varied, however, by year. Table 1 illustrates the extent of the data which were available from the DOE for this study.

There are three academic years of data, 1976-77, 1980-81, and 1981-82. Some of the SAT subtests are available for all three years as shown in Table 1, but not all. Data for grades 2,4,6,8, and 10 are available for 1980-81, for example, but only grades 4 and 8 in 1976-77. This permits some longitudinal comparisons as well as subtest comparisons and comparisons between grade levels in the same year.

The 1976-77 data and the 1980-81 data are based on a manual merging of the achievement with the ethnic data. For those years the scores for Hawaiian vs. non-Hawaiian students are available. In 1981-82, the files were electronically merged, permitting comparisons across all ethnic groups.

B. The Private School Data

Although the original plan for this Needs Assessment called for only the use of already-available data, it was discovered that there was no readily-available data for private schools in the State of Hawaii which would give any insight into the achievement of Hawaiian students. Because the private school system is considered to be a major force in education in Hawaii, the decision was made to conduct a survey of private schools to determine the number of Hawaiian children enrolled and what their achievement levels on standardized tests are. Administrators of all the private schools in the State with students in the same grade levels as those in the DOE study (2, 4, 6, 8, or 10) were contacted and their cooperation sought. Table 2 gives the response rate for the private schools, broken down into Catholic and non-Catholic institutions.

The data provided by the cooperating schools was variable. Most did not have an ethnic survey upon which to base their determination of Hawaiian enrollment. For some this information was contained on application papers; for many the determination was made by the school's staff being aware of students' backgrounds. Others actually conducted ethnic surveys of the students. Thus, from the respondent schools we received the number of students enrolled in the target grades and the number of Hawaiian students in these grades. The overall Hawaiian enrollment (shown in Table 3), then is a best estimate based on interpolation from the target grade levels to the rest of the grades at each private school.

TABLE 2

Private School Participation

	# Schools	# Contacted	Data Received From
Catholic (K-12)	34	34	33 (97.1%)
Private Non-Catholic (K-12)	78	78	77 (98.7%)
	112	112	110 (98.2%)

TABLE 1

Standardized Testing Data — DOE

	Reading A&B			Reading Compre.			Total Reading			Math Concepts			Math Compu.			Math Appl.			Total Math			Vocabulary			Word Study			Spelling			(English) Language			OLMAT		
	76	80	81	76	80	81	76	80	81	76	80	81	76	80	81	76	80	81	76	80	81	76	80	81	76	80	81	76	80	81	76	80	81	76	80	81
2		X			X			X			X			X			X			X			X			X			X								
4				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X		X	X	
6					X	X		X	X		X	X		X	X		X	X		X	X		X	X		X	X		X	X		X	X			
8					X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X				
10								X	X											X	X											X	X				

The standardized test situation was found to be expectably variable. The Catholic system schools did all use the same test, but it was not the SAT, rather, the Metropolitan Achievement Test. Other private schools used other achievement tests. Some 29 schools used the Stanford Achievement Tests. Only in these cases is direct comparison with the DOE possible, although some patterns can be judged from consideration of the other data.

HAWAIIAN STUDENT POPULATION

Table 3 compares the student population in private and public schools. The numbers of students shown are for the target year of 1980-81. The number of Hawaiian students at-

TABLE 3

Hawaiian Student Population

	DOE	Private	TOTAL
# Schools	225	112	337
# Students total (1980-81)	163,934 (actual)	34,360 (estimated)	198,294
# Hawaiian (1980-81)	33,423 (actual)	8,558 (estimated)	41,981
% Hawaiian	20.4	24.9	21.2

tending private schools represents 20.4 percent of the Hawaiian students in the State and 24.9 percent of all private school students. Thus **there is a larger percentage of Hawaiian children in private schools than in public**. While this conclusion may be validly drawn from the data, the interpretation must also consider additional facts. Some 2700 of the private school Hawaiian children attend The Kamehameha Schools, whose student body is composed only of Hawaiian students. When these students are not included, the percentage of private school students who are Hawaiian drops to 18.5%. Thus it could be argued that the "typical" private school other than Kamehameha does not have a proportion of Hawaiian students equal to their proportion of the overall population. The impact of the existence of a school like Kamehameha on the relative public/private placement of students is both significant and difficult to evaluate.

FIGURE 3

ETHNICITY OF STUDENTS ENROLLED BY THE HAWAII DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, 1980-81

KEY	ETHNICITY	NUMBER	PERCENT
C	CAUCASIAN	40,148	24.5
HWN	HAWAIIAN	33,423	20.4
J	JAPANESE	30,724	18.7
F	FILIPINO	30,704	18.7
CH	CHINESE	6,232	3.8
S	SAMOAN	5,327	3.2
H	HISPANIC	3,307	2.0
K	KOREAN	3,031	1.8
B	BLACK	2,279	1.4
O	OTHER	8,759	5.3
		163,934	

Figure 3 presents the overall picture of ethnicity in the DOE. Note that the Hawaiians are the second largest of the four major ethnic groups. Even these figures are somewhat variable: the DOE sometimes breaks what is called "Hawaiian" in this study into "Hawaiian" and "part-Hawaiian." "Caucasian," similarly, is sometimes broken down into "White" and "Portuguese." The main picture of four major groups with from five to eight clearly identifiable other smaller groups remains valid.

FIGURE 4

NUMBER OF HAWAIIAN STUDENTS BY DOE DISTRICT

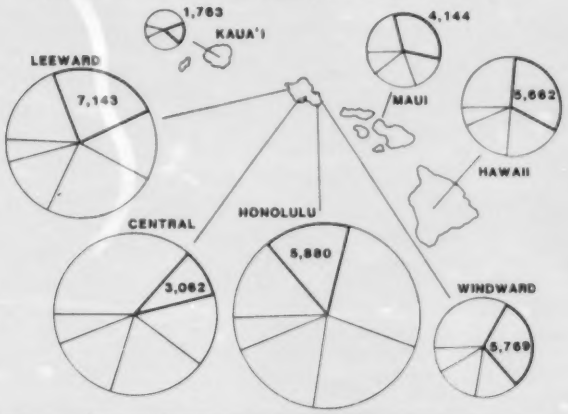


Figure 4 shows that the distribution of the ethnic groups is somewhat variable throughout the State. Some 65% of all the Hawaiian children are in one of the four districts on the island of Oahu. The most populous Hawaiian district is Leeward. The least populous district is Kauai. Figure 5 shows the change in district Hawaiian enrollment between 1976-77 and 1980-81. In general, the largest Oahu districts have lost students and the smaller districts have gained.

PARITY COMPARISONS

As mentioned earlier, the parity hypothesis will be examined by comparing the "curves" of Hawaiian students on standardized achievement tests with national norms and with other comparative groups. With the quantity of data available from the DOE and from private schools as just discussed, the number of possible comparisons is astronomical. Each subtest at each grade level for each year represents just one "curve." This is what might be called "first-order" curves. The raw data were converted into a complete set of "first-order" curves.

The data represented in the curves is non-sample. That is, it is the scores of **all** the Hawaiian children in the DOE. Thus, any deviation of the distribution of scores from the national norming distribution is a "real" deviation. There is no single statistic which incorporates as much meaningful information about this deviation as does the visual presen-

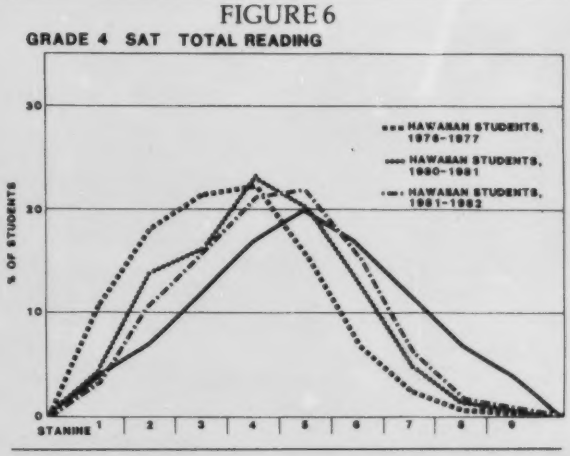
tation of the curve itself. Skewness figures for the curves do not allow comparison of central tendencies. That is, a Hawaiian curve might be quite normally distributed, thus low in skewness, but lie off-center. Comparing the means of the distributions or the variances does not indicate where along the distribution the deviations are the greatest. Using goodness-of-fit statistics gives a picture of relative difference between a theoretical and an observed distribution, but does not in itself indicate the direction of difference or, again, the placement of the greatest deviations. In sum, there is no more meaningful presentation of the data for educational planning purposes than the graphical one. (For purposes of further research into changes over time and more micro-level analyses, appropriate statistical techniques may be applied.)

Ninety-one first-order curves were generated allowing any number of higher-order comparisons. For the purposes of this report, in the sections that follow we will bring together two or more of the first-order curves in order to illustrate several trends which seem to give the most useful insight into the original question concerning overall parity.

A. **Longitudinal Comparisons**

Figure 6 presents the achievement curves for DOE Hawaiian Fourth Graders in Total Reading for three testing years. The most obvious implication of these figures is that, for these

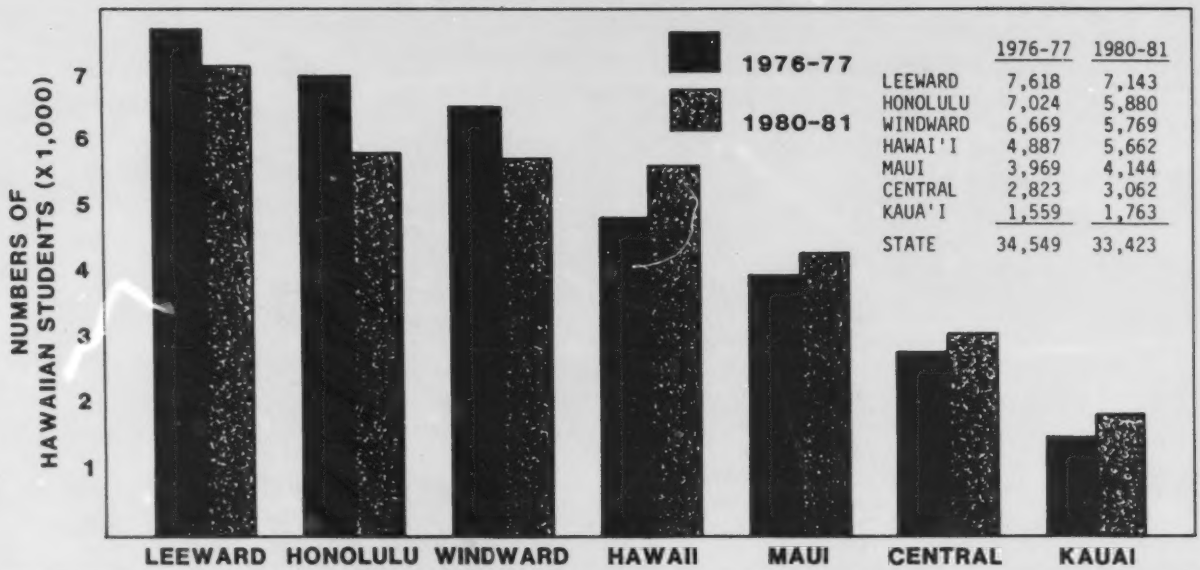
FIGURE 6



three years, **the achievement level of Hawaiian students has been low but is improving**. The curves are moving closer to the normal distribution. Another conclusion which could be drawn from these figures is that there has been more improvement in the lower areas of the curve than in the upper. There has been an apparent movement from the lowest stanines into the middle stanines. There has not been as much movement in the

FIGURE 5

HAWAIIAN STUDENTS BY DOE DISTRICTS, 1976-77 TO 1980-81

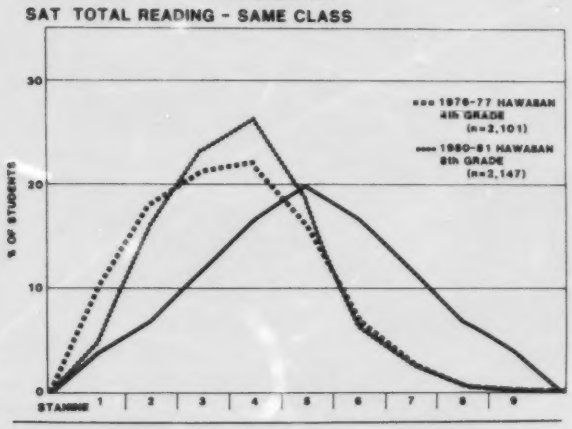


	1976-77	1980-81
LEEWARD	7,618	7,143
HONOLULU	7,024	5,880
WINDWARD	6,669	5,769
HAWAI'I	4,887	5,662
MAUI	3,969	4,144
CENTRAL	2,823	3,062
KAUA'I	1,559	1,763
STATE	34,549	33,423

seventh, eighth, and ninth stanines. Similar results have been found at other grade levels and in the other SAT subtests.

Figure 6 shows improvement for three different groups of students: those who were fourth graders in three different years. Figure 7 shows that there has been similar improvement for the **same** group of students between fourth and eighth grade, between 1976-77 and 1980-81. Once again the main movement of the curve appears to be from the lower to the middle stanines. The upper stanines remain extremely low.

FIGURE 7



The fact that there **has** been some improvement and the finding that it has occured mostly in the lower achievement areas may relate to the emphasis which has been placed in recent years on helping all the lowest achieving pupils in the public schools. The DOE and others have conducted a number of special programs to assist these students through compensatory efforts. In addition, improvement on national standardized tests has been an explicit goal of the DOE during this period of time.

Another way to look at longitudinal data as it applies to the Hawaiian student, is to ask if the degree of improvement noted for Hawaiian students has paralleled improvement for other students in the DOE. Table 4 gives the relative improvement of Hawaiian students and the overall DOE. The Hawaiian students have improved more than other students in the DOE as a whole.

Nevertheless, the most recent curves for Hawaiian students are still below parity with national levels.

B. Grade Level Comparisons

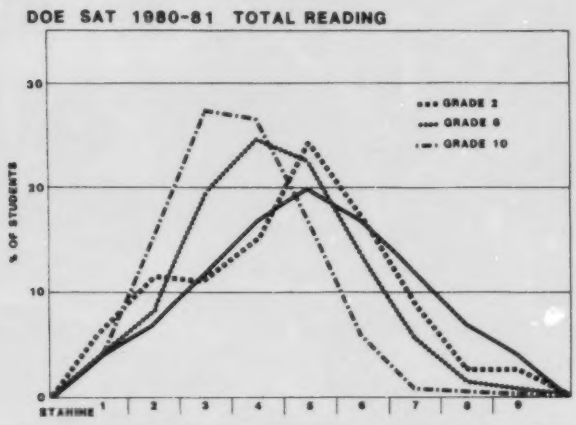
The longitudinal comparisons have shown both improvement and room for further improvement. The analysis focused on the fourth and eighth grade level. Is there a pattern across different grade levels in this same year? Figure 8 shows the results across three grade levels: 2nd, 6th and 10th grades on the Total Reading subtest. For this particular subtest, there is a large drop between 2nd and 10th grade. Across the other curves the general pattern of lower scores in the later grade levels

TABLE 4

SAT Reading Score Comparisons

	PERCENT BELOW AVERAGE Stanines 1, 2, 3		PERCENT AVERAGE Stanines 4, 5, 6		PERCENT ABOVE AVERAGE Stanines 7, 8, 9	
WHOLE STATE						
1976 - 1977	33%		55%		12%	
		9% Positive Percent Change		3% Positive Percent Change		6% Positive Percent Change
1980 - 1981	24%		58%		18%	
HAWAIIANS/PART-HAWAIIANS						
1976 - 1977	50%		46%		4%	
		15% Positive Percent Change		12% Positive Percent Change		3% Positive Percent Change
1980 - 1981	35%		58%		7%	

FIGURE 8



holds true. Statewide, 10th graders have always done more poorly compared to national levels than have, for example, 2nd graders.

In the State of Hawaii as a whole, the 2nd grade scores are **above** national norms on SAT subtests. The Hawaiians score at or slightly below national norms. Those particular subtests which depress the Hawaiians' scores are discussed in the next section. Statewide, the drop in profiles across grade levels holds true for all of the SAT subtests, some dropping more dramatically than others.

C. Subtest Comparisons

Figures 9 and 10 show differences between performance by Hawaiian students on selected subtests of the SAT. In the first case, Vocabulary and Reading Comprehension subtests are compared at the 2nd grade level.

The second case compares the Math Computation with the Math Applications subtests. Reading Comprehension and Math Computation are very close to the national curve, while Vocabulary and Math Applications fall **below** the national levels.

FIGURE 9

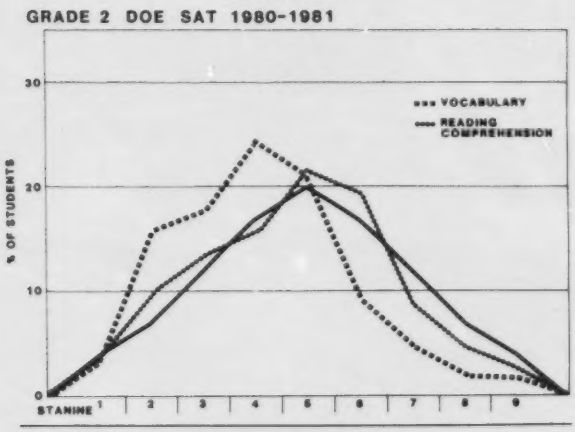
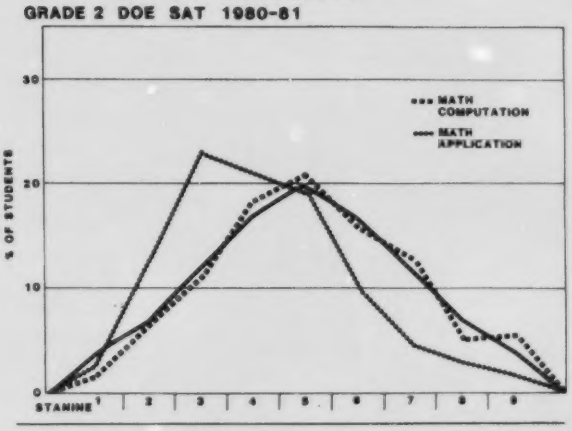


FIGURE 10



This pattern of subtest differences remains true in general across grade levels. Reading Comprehension, however, drops off in the 4th and 6th grades until it is very close to Vocabulary by the 8th grade. Math Applications remains more clearly below Math Computation through the 8th grade.

The fact that Reading Comprehension and Math Computation very nearly coincide with the national curves at second grade level is encouraging. That Vocabulary and Math Applications seem to fall well below national standards gives some direction for possible curricular attention. These are areas for which improved instruction could well make a difference in performance, even by the second grade level. Vocabulary, in particular, is an area which relates to the difference in cultural context in Hawaii. Words relating to winter weather and cold, for example, would be quite unfamiliar to Hawaiian children without special instruction.

D. Male/Female Comparisons

Figures 11 & 12 illustrate two of the many possible male/female comparisons in the data. They compare Hawaiian students' performance on the Total Reading and Total Math subtests at the 6th grade level. On these two particular comparisons the female curves are higher than the male.

Hawaiian females outscore males on most subtests at every grade level. Of particular interest is that the math scores of females remain well ahead of those of males through the 10th grade. While this may indicate a sig-

FIGURE 11

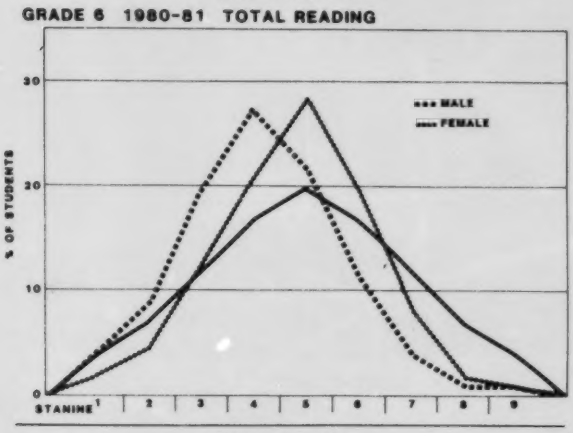
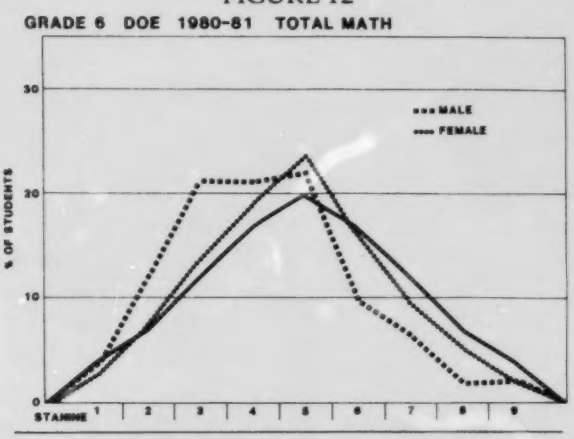


FIGURE 12



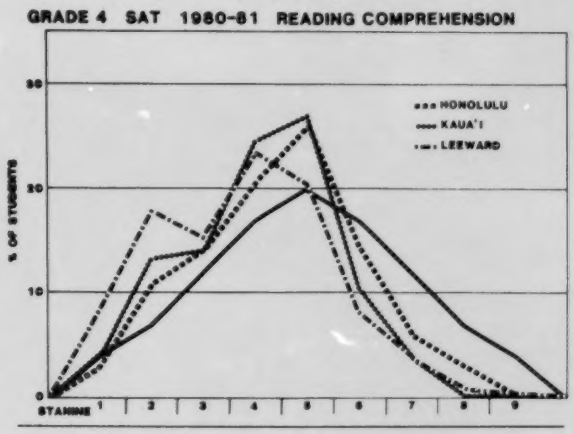
nificant need among Hawaiian males, it should be noted that both males and females fall well below parity by 10th grade.

E. Rural/Urban District Comparisons

There are many areas in Hawaii which could be considered "rural." The only real urban area is Honolulu itself, although the outlying districts on Oahu all have ready access to the metropolis. The Neighbor Islands, while more rural than Oahu, are considered to have a different kind of cultural context and pace as well. Thus, any rural/urban achievement comparison is inextricably bound up with other cultural and socio-economic variables. In the present case, Figure 13 compares the achievement profiles of a Neighbor Island (Kauai), a rural Oahu district (Leeward) and the urban Honolulu District.

In this particular comparison, 4th grade Reading Comprehension, the rural Oahu district scores more poorly than do either the Kauai or Oahu. While this pattern is variable across grade levels and subtests, it points out the fact that there is no clear rural/urban dichotomy present in Hawaii. The "inner-city" school problem is not so severe in Hawaii as in cities on the mainland. Still, outlying districts, and in particular, certain schools, have had severe achievement decrements in the years covered by the study. For educational planning purposes it will be necessary to more closely consider target districts and schools in terms of their unique characteristics in addition to their test profiles.

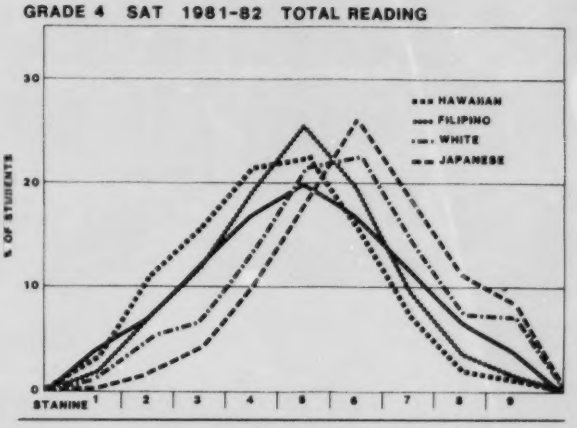
FIGURE 13



F. Ethnic Group Comparisons

It has been noted that the achievement levels of Hawaiian students are improving, even in comparison with those of others in the DOE. At any given point in time, however, their achievement will be compared on an absolute level with others. Figure 14 shows the Hawaiian achievement curve compared with

FIGURE 14



those of the other three largest groups in the DOE, the Japanese, Caucasian, and Filipino groups. Each of the other groups may be seen in this comparison to be ahead of the Hawaiians, the Japanese leading the way. The Japanese and Caucasian curves are superior to the national norm, while the Filipino group curve shows a different pattern. The Filipino pattern has an elevated middle section with lower numbers in both the lower and upper stanine areas.

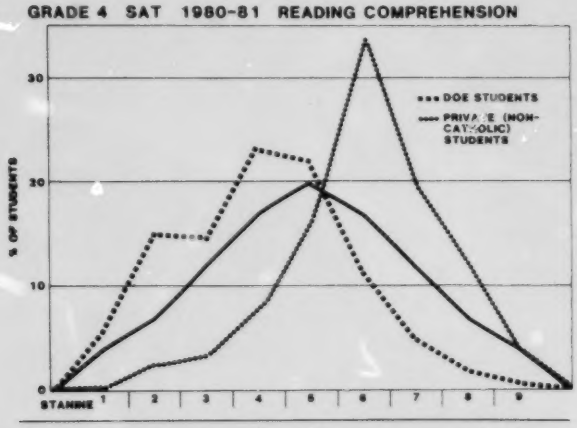
Scores of the other, smaller ethnic groups are varied, with some showing the superior profile of the Japanese (Korean, Chinese) and some showing profiles which are consistently below that of the Hawaiians (Samoan, Portuguese, Indochinese).

The overall pattern of profiles for the four major groups remains consistent across subtests of the SAT and across grade levels. Based on these comparisons, the picture of disparity facing the Hawaiians becomes clearer. Even as their achievement profiles in general are improving and approaching national norms, the profiles of the "competitor" groups remain quite high by comparison.

G. Public vs. Private School Comparisons

Figure 15 compares the performance of Hawaiian students in the DOE (State of Hawaii Department of Education) with Hawaiian students in private schools in one grade level (4th) using one test (SAT) and looking at one subtest (Reading Comprehension) only. While the percentages on the chart show a dramatic superiority of private over public in terms of percentage distributions, the numbers of students involved in this comparison are very different also:

FIGURE 15



Public School group	2,039
Private School group	203

Clearly, the selectivity of private education is represented in the elevated scores of the private school Hawaiian students. This pattern holds true for the other types of standardized tests administered by private schools and at the other grade levels. While it is not possible to lump together the scores of all private school students and add them to those of the public school students, Figure 15 gives the pattern for public and private school Hawaiian students. The hypothetical composite curve would still be somewhat below this national distribution simply because there are not enough private school students to outweigh the public school scores. The picture is not altogether a gloomy one, however, and it is encouraging to find a pool of high achieving Hawaiian students in private schools.

H. Within-Private School Comparisons

Figures 16, 17, and 18 differ from the others

FIGURE 16

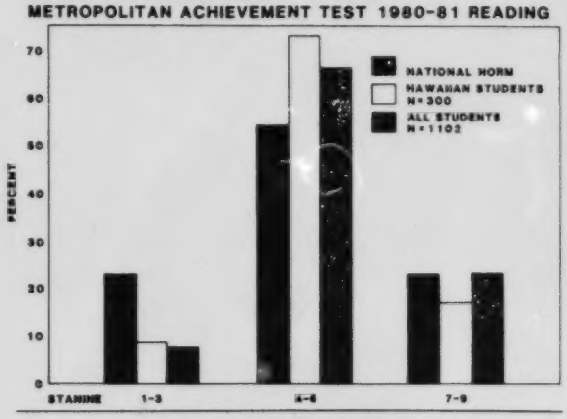


FIGURE 17

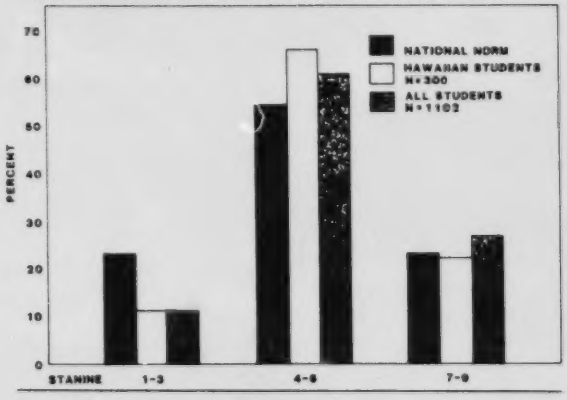
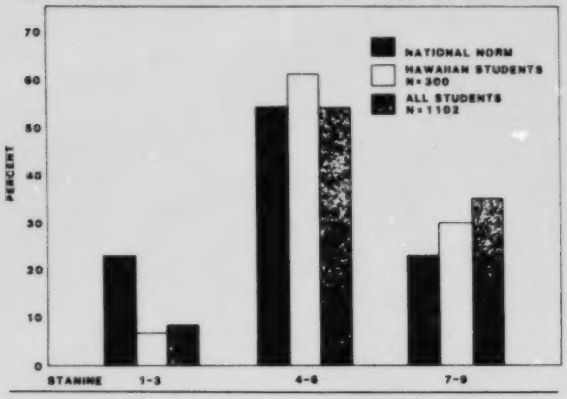


FIGURE 18

GRADE 4 CATHOLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM
METROPOLITAN ACHIEVEMENT TEST 1980-81 LANGUAGE



in that it was not possible to show the complete stanine distribution for these data. These percentages come from the Catholic school system, which only had data summarized into three-stanine groupings. However, the figures permit a comparison of the performance of Hawaiian children in the Catholic schools with the overall figures for Catholic schools on three subtests of the Metropolitan Achievement Test. The pattern for all three subtests is that there are more Hawaiian students in the middle three stanines, fewer in the upper stanines, and mixed results in the lower three stanines. These are the numbers of students tested:

All students	1,102
Hawaiian students	300

These figures show again that Hawaiian students in private schools are achieving at relatively high levels compared to the national norming group. **They point out once again, however, that within the private schools as well as the public, Hawaiian students are below parity with other local students.** This disparity is most apparent for private schools in the upper stanine areas. In other words, there appear to be more non-Hawaiian students in the very high-achieving brackets.

LACK OF PARITY AND EDUCATIONAL NEED

In the preceeding sections only a few of the possible comparisons of curves have been presented which go into the overall assessment of the original question concerning parity. There are a few areas in which Hawaiian students are demonstrably doing as well as the national norming group: mainly in the lower grade levels. However, there are a multitude of areas of wide disparity as well. While it might seem desirable to be able to give a simple single generalization about the academic achievement of Hawaiians, such is not the case. In recognizing complexity, the issue changes from simply whether there is or is not parity, to what to do about those areas in which there is not parity. This is where the concept of "need" arises. Where, among the curves is the need? Where is this need the greatest? What could be done about it?

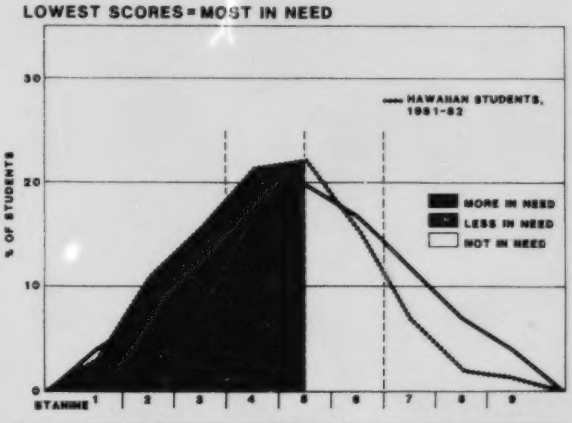
In looking at the curves analysis for a definition of need, another degree of complexity arises. There are at least three ways of defining educational need based on the curves. Each has some claim to being the pathway to educational intervention. An examination of each of these three needs definitions follows:

A. **Those scoring lowest on the test are the most in need.**

This definition assumes that all children who score, say, in the first stanine are those in the most need for educational intervention. Figure 19 illustrates this need definition. All those up through the middle of the stanine groupings are in need, the degree of need relating directly to how low the score is. According to this need definition, those students scoring **above** the national mean would not be regarded as in need of educational intervention.

FIGURE 19

LOWEST SCORES = MOST IN NEED

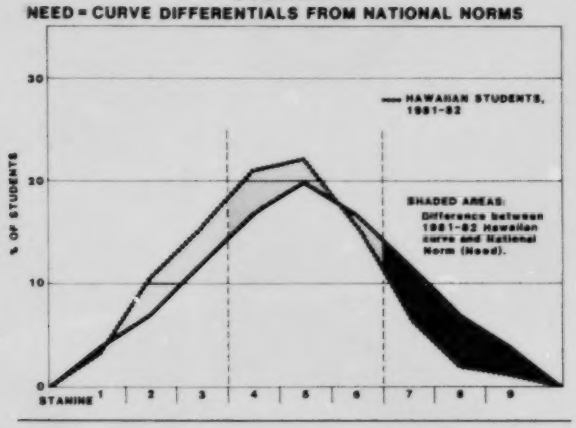


B. **Any disparity from the national norms indicates need.**

Figure 20 illustrates how this definition of need may be conceptualized. The key difference between this definition and the preceding one is that there is a need area **above** the

FIGURE 20

NEED = CURVE DIFFERENTIALS FROM NATIONAL NORMS


HAWAIIAN STUDENTS, 1981-82
SHADED AREAS: Difference between 1981-82 Hawaiian curve and National Norm (Need).
% OF STUDENTS
STANINE

national mean score. In fact, there may be as severe an educational need at the uppermost stanine achievement levels as at the lowest. Looking at comparative curves, however, shows that the meaning of the disparities changes at the upper levels. An in-need group may have too many students scoring in the lower stanines. Thus the idea of intervention would be to help these students "move up." The problem at the upper levels, however, is too **few** students. So the targets of intervention are not the students who are at the upper levels, but rather the students at the middle levels who could move into the higher levels. The standard of comparison in both of the first two need definitions is the national curve.

C. **The need is to achieve parity with the highest achieving local group.**

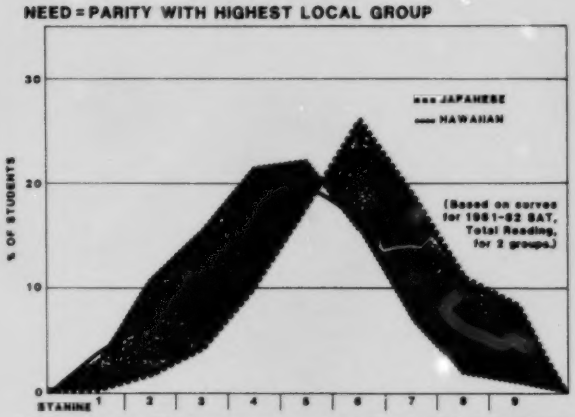
Parity comparisons point out that other ethnic groups in Hawaii score above the national norms. Under this third definition of need, even if Hawaiian students were to achieve national parity, they would still be behind the other local groups. Because the local system is the one in which self-image is formed and is the one in which the Hawaiian student must measure personal success, it is held that upward curve mobility should not stop until the Hawaiians are at parity with the highest achieving local group. Of the four major groups in the Hawaii DOE, this is the Japanese. Figure 21 illustrates this definition of need.

D. **Can these need definitions be operationalized?**

Using the DOE data which generated the statewide curves used in the parity compari-

FIGURE 21

NEED = PARITY WITH HIGHEST LOCAL GROUP



sons, it is possible to determine the individual schools in the state which would be the "most-in-need" by each of the three need definitions above. There are a variety of ways of operationalizing the definitions of each. For example, under need definition number 1, the number of Hawaiian students in the lowest stanine would be one way to rank order schools. For the example shown in Table 5, the number of students in the bottom **three** stanines in 4th grade reading total was used to estimate the total number of students in each school. Table 5 presents the ten schools with the highest numbers, rank ordered.

TABLE 5

"Most-in-Need" Schools by Number of 4th Grade Hawaiian Students Scoring in Stanines 1-3 in Total Reading, SAT, 1980-81

RANK	SCHOOL	# IN STANINES 1-3 (4TH GRADE)	NUMBER TESTED	# HAWAIIAN STUDENTS (K-6)	ESTIMATE # NEEDING ASSISTANCE
1	School "A"	36	65	510	295
2	School "B"	39	78	474	237
3	School "C"	29	60	387	186
4	School "D"	20	53	447	170
5	School "E"	25	52	327	157
6	School "F"	17	45	396	150
7	School "G"	18	36	282	141
8	School "H"	14	43	408	135
9	School "I"	20	49	299	123
10	School "J"	17	35	232	114

One way of operationalizing need definition number 2 would be to calculate the number of students scoring "just-below-average," or in stanines 3 and 4. This would be the pool of students from which the most movement past the middle of the curve might be expected. The top ten schools in terms of the estimated number of students in these stanines are presented in Table 6.

The third need definition implies even more strongly that the most severe need is for more

TABLE 6

"Just-Below-Average" Students: Top 10 Schools by Estimated Number of Hawaiian Students in Stanines 3 & 4, Total Reading, SAT, 1980-81

RANK	SCHOOL	# IN STANINES 3-4 (4TH GRADE)	NUMBER TESTED	# HAWAIIAN STUDENTS (K-6)	EST. # HAWN. "JUST-BELOW-AVERAGE"
1	School "A"	32	65	510	251
2	School "B"	34	60	387	219
3	School "C"	24	45	396	211
4	School "D"	34	78	474	207
5	School "E"	18	53	538	183
6	School "F"	23	34	251	170
7	School "G"	16	43	408	152
8	School "H"	19	36	282	149
9	School "I"	18	31	247	143
10	School "J"	22	52	327	138

Hawaiian students to be represented in the uppermost stanine area of the curve. One way to operationalize this would be to look for those schools in which there is a large number of Hawaiian students but none scoring in the 7th, 8th, or 9th stanines. Table 7 presents the top ten schools selected on this basis, rank ordered by highest number of Hawaiian students, none of whom scored in the top stanines in Total Reading, 4th grade level.

TABLE 7

Schools With No Hawaiian Students Scoring in the Upper Stanines (7, 8, & 9) on 4th Grade SAT, Total Reading Top 10 Ranked by Total Number of Hawaiian Students, K-6

RANK	SCHOOL	HAWAIIAN STUDENTS, K-6
1	School "K"	251
2	School "M"	238
3	School "N"	216
4	School "O"	201
5	School "L"	197
6	School "P"	189
7	School "Q"	187
8	School "R"	159
9	School "S"	158
10	School "T"	155

None of these lists should be interpreted as prescriptive or definitive targets of educational need. They serve to illustrate that the data do permit a school-by-school analysis of achievement and, thus, give the potential for a focussed intervention plan based on any of the kinds of need definition we have discussed.

Perhaps the most important finding here is the amount of overlap between schools in the needs categories. Eight of the ten schools in List 1 repeat in List 2. Two from List 2 are in List 3. In other words, certain schools account for needs at several levels. Intervention planned for these schools would be most cost-beneficial in that it would reach the most Hawaiian children with needs at many educational levels.

Taking List 1, for example, the total number of Hawaiian children estimated to be in need at these schools is 1,708. This is 27.8% of the total number of elementary children estimated to be in need **statewide** by this need definition. In other words, programs at these ten schools would have the potential to reach almost a third of those estimated to be in need statewide. (The ten schools are but 5.7% of the 175 elementary schools statewide.)

CONCLUSIONS

This section of the Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment Project Report has examined the most thorough set of standardized achievement test data ever assembled by ethnicity in Hawaii. The study looked at private as well as public school test scores; at three different academic years; at five grade levels; at subtest scores; at male/female scores; at differences among Hawaii's ethnic groups. Achievement curves were developed in an attempt to discover where, if at all, Hawaiian students fall below parity with national norms as well as with their peers in Hawaii. Within the constraints of this study, the following seem to be the most valid conclusions:

I. **Overall, Hawaiian students do score below parity with national norms on standardized achievement tests.**

The original DOE data contains a total of 91 subtest score curves showing Hawaiian student performance compared to the national norming distribution on the Stanford Achievement Test series. Only five of these, four at the second grade level and one at the fourth grade level, come close to parity with the normal distribution. All the other curves show a disproportionately high percentage of Hawaiian students in the lower stanines or below average achievement and a disproportionately low number of Hawaiian students in the upper stanines or the above average achievement level. This overall finding, however, must be qualified by the analyses presented of subtest comparisons:

a.) The scores of Hawaiian students in the DOE have been improving over the three years of data available for the study.

b.) Standardized test scores are close to national parity at the second grade but are lower at the upper grade levels.

c.) Vocabulary and Math Applications stand out as weaker than the other subtests especially at the lower grade levels.

d.) Hawaiian male students consistently score below females in math and reading.

e.) Scores of Hawaiian students who attend private schools in Hawaii are consistently at or above national norms.

f.) Public and private schools both show a pattern of low percentages of Hawaiian students in the uppermost stanines.

g.) Certain schools can be specified as most-in-need on the basis of several kinds of educational need

h.) Hawaiian students are the lowest of the four major ethnic groups in Hawaii's schools. Two of these score consistently well above national norms on standardized achievement tests.

The issue of disparity is, then, not a simple one. While the Hawaiian students in general continue to score below parity with national groups, the disparity with other local groups is even greater. The data point out the need to make a careful determination of need for focussed educational intervention.

Once again it should be emphasized that standardized test scores have been used here as only one index of Hawaiian student need: they are not considered to be the ultimate measure of educational outcomes. In the chapters which follow, a much broader perspective on educational need is presented.

CHAPTER III
Special Educational Needs

Given the general profile of the overall educational achievement of Native Hawaiians in the State of Hawaii as based on standardized test score data, it is clear that Hawaiians as a group have substantial needs in the educational arena. However, the test score analyses do not tell the whole story. The purpose of this chapter is to take a broader look at the concept of educational need and at the unique special educational needs of Native Hawaiian students.

Defining educational need can be done in any number of ways. However, the primary goal in this instance was to be as comprehensive as possible. Adoption of this operational goal was based on several considerations. First, the theoretical model used as a guide in the study, Bronfenbrenner's ecological model of human development (see Chapter I), is comprehensive. Bronfenbrenner's model suggests that individual development can only be understood within the larger context of causal factors at multiple levels of analysis. This opens the way for consideration of many trends and policies within a social setting in terms of their impact on individual development. Ecological theory also lends itself to inclusion of the historical dimension since it is a natural progression to move from a comprehensive ecological assessment of a social setting at a given point in time to a consideration of how a specific ecological configuration evolved out of those preceding it. Including at least some historical perspective was deemed crucial in this case because many Hawaiians emphasize the historical bases of contemporary Hawaiian problems.

A second reason for attempting to be comprehensive stemmed from a desire to identify the diverse viewpoints that individuals and groups living and working in Hawaii have with respect to education and the definition of educational need. Specifically, it was hoped that the perspectives of the "silent majority," the "average Joe," the "Mr. Aloha" could be captured — along with those of educational and community leaders who routinely comment on and write about education.

METHODOLOGY

The search pattern followed in gathering information for this chapter, as well as in the following one on culturally-related educational needs, was generally one as broad as possible. The key guiding question in both cases was: What hypotheses have been raised as to the specific educational problems of Hawaiian school-age youth? The goal throughout the search process was to try to garner as much evidence as was reasonably possible with respect to each hypothesis discovered. In brief, three types of information were sought:

1. **Testimony:** Primarily statements offered before federal legislative committees and recorded in written form. However, statements offered in the popular printed media such as newspapers and magazines were also accepted and considered.
2. **Social Indicator Data:** Archival, governmental, and agency records of any type that could be used to generate some indications of problem situations with a direct or sometimes an indirect bearing on education.
3. **Social Science Analysis:** Research reports or professional opinions and analyses offered by social scientists that have a direct or indirect connection with understanding the processes involved in or the reasons behind specific problem situations facing Hawaiian school-age youth with regard to their educational achievement.

Thus, this chapter considers a number of barriers or conditions affecting the educational development of Hawaiian children and examines the testimonial, social indicator, and social science analysis data gathered during the study. Briefly, the order of presentation and the items to be considered for each condition are as follows. In cases where one of the last three items is missing from a section, this is an indication that a specific type of data was not available for review.

Condition Summary: A brief overview of the problem area as defined by the data reviewed.

Potential Educational Interventions: Indications of the general types of educational interventions that might be introduced given the problem conditions described. Often more than one potential intervention will be suggested because educators have their own programmatic preferences and because different programs may be needed in different communities.

Testimony: A review of the testimonial statements thought to relate to the problem condition specified.

Social Indicator Data: A presentation of pertinent social indicator information, or references to the same.

Social Science Analysis: Often a mini-review of the literature in a specific area. In the current version review efforts were generally limited to those articles that dealt specifically with Hawaiians. Future revisions may include more comprehensive literature reviews.

It should be reiterated that this is an "open" chapter in the sense that the work, ideas, and information presented is a beginning rather than an end. In addition, it is not practical to include all the information gathered in this yearlong effort because of the sheer volume of the resulting product. Thus, in some of the conditions representative testimonial data and only the best social indicator and social science analyses are presented; plus, it was necessary in some cases to limit the analytic commentary. In short, this product is but a window through which an ongoing process can be viewed. The Office of Program Evaluation and Planning has the complete text for anyone interested.

NOTE ON REFERENCES

Throughout the following chapters, frequent references are made to testimony presented at Congressional hearings related to certain proposed legislation. These are often cited using the name of the person presenting testimony, followed by the number of the proposed bill or resolution, for example, Kimo Aloha, Bill 916, p. 83. In the Bibliography all of these reference sources may be found under the name of the committee hearing testimony, the Indian Affairs Committee, United States Senate.

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: Socioeconomic Status

Condition 1: Poverty

Condition Summary

Testimonial and Social Indicator Data show that many Hawaiians are poor and suffer from the negative educational, social, emotional, physical, and environmental problems associated with inadequate income.

Potential Educational Interventions

- "Anti-poverty" programs that attempt to ameliorate poverty-related conditions through educational intervention with youth and their families.
- Community-level efforts by educators to effect social changes that will help alleviate poverty and its impact on families and children.

Testimony

> . . . Money, money, money has always been our 'Hawaiian problem.' With only a high school diploma what chances does one have against a college graduate? With no skill developed, how could one get a good paying job? (Lovey Apana, Bill 916, p. 205)

Succinctly stated, this individual views family income as a particular problem for Hawaiians and one which is directly connected to their level of educational attainment. Other similarly focused testimony directed at legislative committees included the following:

> The Hawaiians have a special claim on our attention. These islands are their native land. Today, we know that a number of Hawaiians have not been able to keep pace with the progress and prosperity which has taken place here. Too many have fallen into the hardcore poverty cycle. And because of this fact, I am deeply concerned that persons of Native Hawaiian descent comprise a large, identifiable segment of the State of Hawaii's unemployed and welfare recipients.

The social costs connected with hard-core poverty are tremendous ranging from the loss of these individual's potential contribution of effort and talent, down to the dollar cost of maintaining welfare programs and prisons.

I am convinced that the key to reversing this trend lies in the area of education, for this gift once given can never be taken away. The educational needs of Native Hawaiians are unique and deserving of special Federal support. If enacted, Senate Bill 916 will authorize funding to develop and implement the educational programs required to address the unique needs of Native Hawaiians and their children (Hoaliku Drake for Frank Fasi, Bill 916, p. 36).

This bill has a simple purpose—to improve and expand educational opportunities for Native Hawaiians. It will help Native Hawaiians master the mysteries of their world as native Americans and as members of our dynamic Nation. It will help them enrich their minds and learn the skills of work. And these tools can open the world to them.

With education, instead of a life of poverty and stagnation, Native Hawaiians can learn the skills to find a job and a career and provide for a family. Instead of boredom and frustration, they can find excitement and pleasure in their hours of rest. Instead of squandering their talents, they can learn to use them to benefit themselves, the community, the State, and the country they live in.

How many lives, both young and adult, have been wasted? How many families now live in misery? How much of our native talent have the Hawaiian people, the State of Hawaii, and the Nation lost because we have yet to reconcile their failure? Each day's delay contributes to the intense social and economic strains presently experienced by Native Hawaiians.

Today, 23.5 percent of the recipients for general assistance are Native Hawaiians; 46.8 percent of the population in our State correctional facilities are Native Hawaiians; and 40.3 percent under the supervision of the Hawaii Paroling Authority are Native Hawaiians.

For calendar year 1977, the unemployment rate among Native Hawaiians was 11.1 percent, compared to a low of 4.3 percent for other ethnic groups.

During 1972, among minority-owned businesses, excluding businesses owned by whites, blacks, and persons of Spanish origin, Native Hawaiians owned 393 firms which translates to 2.8 percent. Yet we make up 17.7 percent of the population.

This is a shocking waste of our primary native resource—our people. And we can measure the cost in other terms. We now spend $2,217 a year per child in our public schools. But we spend $16,500 a year to keep a delinquent youth in a detention home; $8,736 for a family on relief; $17,000 a year per inmate in our State prison.

Education is the most economical investment that this Nation can make toward a brighter future for Native Hawaiians.

From the very beginning, knowledge for all was the key to success of the American experiment. The duty to provide that knowledge has rested on each successive generation. It weighs most heavily on those in positions that have the opportunity and related resources. For as society has grown more intricate, the need for learning has grown more intense, and the rapid growth of our island State threatens to outdistance the capacities of the local school system in dealing with the specific needs of Hawaiians.

The result is that the young and adult Native Hawaiians are denied their full right to develop their minds and take their place in society.

This bill represents a determination on the part of the Senate that this will no longer be true. Section 8 of S. 916 proposes to amend the Adult Education Act by inserting after section 316 a new section which is of interest and importance to the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (Georgiana Padeken, Bill 916, pp. 39-40).

Others have offered more situation-specific accounts of the degree of poverty among Hawaiians as exemplified by this testimony from the director of a preschool program:

> One measure is the family income of the Hawaiians in our preschool. These families have an average gross family

income of 38.9 percent of the State median income adjusted for family size. These gross incomes range from 78 percent of the State median down to 21.7 percent, a bare fifth of the amount required for a decent standard of existence.

Evidence of the efforts made by these Hawaiian families to survive is provided by the number employed. Some 60 percent are working. However, 40 percent of the employed families earn so little that they need, and are eligible for public assistance supplementation (Joanne Bristow, Bill 857, p. 113).

Finally, some testimony contained explicit facts and figures showing the relative standing of Hawaiians in the State of Hawaii. For example, Thompson and Hannahs (1979) offered the following figures that were drawn from the ongoing needs assessment work of Alu Like, Inc.

KEY SOCIAL INDICATORS: STATISTICAL COMPARISON BETWEEN HAWAIIAN ADULTS AND ADULTS STATEWIDE

	STATE POP.	HAWN. POP.
Less Than High School Education	24%	30%
College Degree	16%	5%
Unemployed	4%	6%
Near or Below Poverty	16%	23%
Insufficient Income for Family Size	22%	35%
Profession, Technical, Managerial	27%	19%
Welfare Recipients	15%	22%
Income Less Than $4,000/Year	26%	31%
Median Income	$7,400	$6,900
Criminal Offenders	.5%	1.2%

of Total:
- Prosecutions Authorized – 62% Native Hawaiians
- Incarcerated – 47% Native Hawaiians
- Juveniles on Probation– 41% Native Hawaiians
- Adults on Probation– 35% Native Hawaiians

GENERAL DEMOGRAPHICS

Whole and Part-Hawaiians comprise 17% of State Population

Whole and Part-Hawaiians comprise 24% of Youth Population

Whole and Part-Hawaiians comprise 13% of Adult Population

50% of all Whole and Part-Hawaiians are 20 Years Old and Younger

Additional relevant testimony included that of Darrow Aiona, Bill 916, pp. 66-67 and Keoni Agard, Bill 916, pp. 91-92.

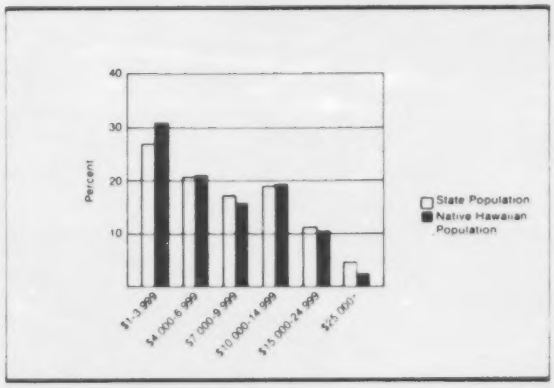
Social Indicator Data

Alu Like, Inc., a local non-profit social change organization, has for a number of years expended considerable effort in maintaining files of social indicator information regarding Hawaiians. In general, their style of presentation has been to contrast "Native Hawaiian" figures with those of the state population as a whole. In many cases this has involved combining figures which may have originally been broken out in terms of "Hawaiians" and "Part-Hawaiians." For example, in the area of personal income, the data shown in Figures 22 and 23, taken from a publication entitled *He Hawaii Makou (We are Hawaiians)* (Alu Like, 1979) illustrates the type of presentation that has often been used. In this case data were drawn from the 1975 OEO Census Update Survey. The summary comment offered in connection with these data was as follows:

> Of those who have income, Native Hawaiians have a significantly higher percentage of their population in the low

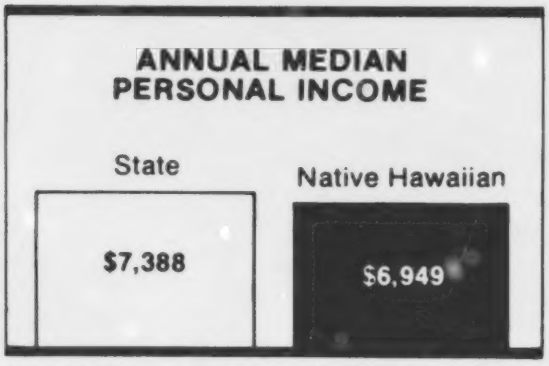
FIGURE 22

Annual Personal Income, State of Hawaii 1975



Source: *He Hawai'i Makou—We Are Hawaiians*, Alu Like 1979, p. 17

FIGURE 23



Source: *He Hawai'i Makou — We Are Hawaiians*, Alu Like 1979, p. 17.

income levels than the rest of the State, and they have proportionately fewer people at the higher income levels. Almost one-third (31.2%) of Native Hawaiians receiving income get less than $4000 per year. (p. 17)

While the above style of presentation clearly shows apparent need on the part of Hawaiians, it also may convey less information about the nature of social organization in Hawaii than a straight-forward presentation of information broken down by ethnic group. As a contrast to the above, Rapson (1980) presented the income information by ethnic group for the year 1977 as shown in Table 8.

In looking at the final-median-income column one can notice a substantial difference between the figures for Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians, the Hawaiians being the lowest group shown in the Table. It is also of some interest to contrast the Filipino figures with that of the Part-Hawaiian group, the Filipino median income being lower. Moreover, it should be noted that an estimated one-third of "Hawaiian" families would be scattered throughout different ethnic groups due to outmarriage by Hawaiians and part-Hawaiian women (that is, figures drawn from Department of Health, 1981, Table 59, p. 50, vital statistics on marriage by race of bride and groom show that of all marriages involving Hawaiians about one-third of the total involve Hawaiian women who marry non-Hawaiians).

A slightly different perspective on poverty among Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians can be obtained from a close consideration of figures compiled by the Hawaii Office of Economic Opportunity and the Hawaii CAP Directors Association (1979). Specifically, the information presented in Table 9 was drawn from poverty data broken down by age group. For convenience, figures for Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians were combined. In general, the figures show an overrepresentation of Hawaiians among those living under what are classified as poverty income conditions at all age levels. However, it does appear that poverty status may be most prevalent among Hawaiian school age youth aged 6-18.

TABLE 8

Annual Income of Civilian Families, by Ethnic Stock of Family Head: 1977

Ethnic Stock	All Levels	Under $5,000	$5,000 to $9,999	$10,000 to $14,999	$15,000 to $19,999	$20,000 to $24,999	$25,000 and OVER	Income Not Reported	Median Income[1/] (dollars)
All groups	200,101	8,835	31,340	32,248	29,930	25,828	40,626	31,293	17,000
Caucasian	51,836	1,731	7,447	7,437	6,580	6,788	13,826	7,992	19,002
Japanese	64,696	1,190	6,486	9,240	11,459	10,509	15,259	10,552	19,431
Hawaiian	3,097	624	897	555	456	48	202	314	9,278
Filipino	22,370	1,442	5,080	5,369	3,446	1,533	1,936	3,564	12,683
Chinese	13,063	291	914	2,096	1,640	2,120	3,824	2,178	21,183
Korean	2,941	112	313	357	377	672	442	668	19,702
Samoan	1,039	191	468	206	—	66	—	107	—
Black	897	—	243	—	207	112	232	102	—
Puerto Rican	1,514	115	586	377	169	45	57	165	—
Other unmixed and unknown	1,535	284	178	163	46	—	56	809	—
Mixed: Part Hawaiian	25,263	2,051	5,980	4,068	4,086	2,617	3,143	3,318	13,615
Mixed: Non-Hawaiian	11,851	803	2,749	2,343	1,464	1,318	1,650	1,525	13,438

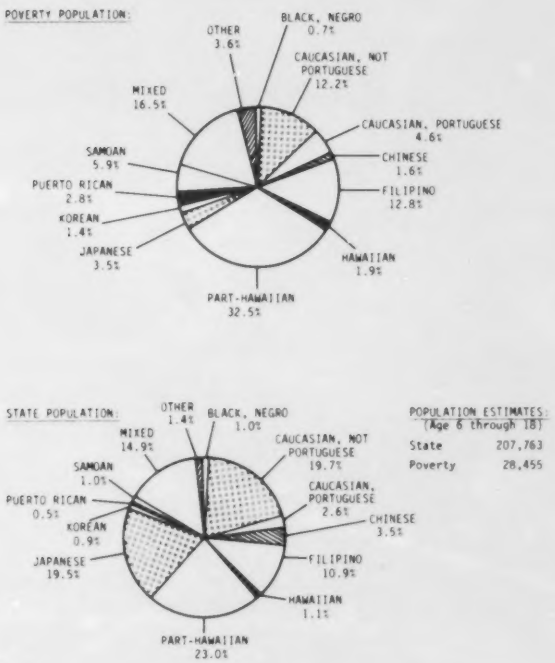
1/ Median not shown where base (unexpanded) is less than 50.

Source: Rapson 1980, p. 53

A percentage representation pie graph of individuals living in poverty for the age group 6-18 is shown in Figure 24. This style of presenting the state population by age group within the total State of Hawaii population and the poverty population within the same age group was used in the *Profile on Poverty* report (Hawaii Office of Economic Opportunity and Hawaii CAP Directors Association, 1979) for the series of age groupings considered in Table 9. The following were comments offered in a brief analysis of the ethnic composition within the two groups shown in Figure 24 as well as within a third "Non-Poverty" group.

FIGURE 24

Ethnic Distribution of Poverty and Overall State Populations for Individuals Aged 6-18 Years, 1975



SOURCE: Hawaii Office of Economic Opportunity and Hawaii CAP Directors Assn. *Profile on Poverty, State of Hawaii.* April, 1979.

State. Compared to the overall state population, the ethnic composition of Youth in Hawaii shows larger proportions of Part Hawaiians and Mixed.

Poverty. The largest ethnic groups in poverty Youth population are the Part Hawaiians (32.5%), Mixed (16.5%), and Filipinos (12.8%).

Non-Poverty. The largest ethnic groups in the non-poverty Youth population are the Japanese (22.0%), the Part-Hawaiians (21.5%), and the non-Portuguese Caucasians (20.9%).

TABLE 9

Representation of Hawaiians & Part-Hawaiians in Total Age-Group Populations & Age-Group Poverty Populations

Group	Age Range	Percent of Population	Percent of Poverty Population
Preschool	0-5	24.4%	29.1%
Youth	6-18	24.1%	34.4%
Young Adults	19-25	14.9%	16.2%
Adults	18 & older	12.9%	16.9%
Senior Citizens	55 & older	9.1%	9.9%
OVERALL	Total Population	16.7%	23.9%

Social Science Analysis

Ever since the initiation of the federal "War on Poverty" during the 1960s social scientists have devoted considerable attention to studying the characteristics of children reared under poverty conditions. For instance, it has come to be fairly well-accepted that children of the poor tend to arrive at school with intellectual and language problems of varying degrees. In Hawaii social scientists have tended to follow along with research and program development trends that have started on the Mainland. For example, the Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP), a program sponsored by The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate, was initiated in the early seventies as an R & D effort designed to discover effective methods of teaching Hawaiian youth how to read. In light of the decade of intensive attention to the needs of low-income, disadvantaged youth on the Mainland, it is not surprising that KEEP too has concentrated its efforts on low-income students. And as might be expected, they have discovered much the same pattern of deficits as has been found with Mainland samples of low-income students, with perhaps a few twists, as Tharp et al. (1978) explained:

> Most of the students at the KEEP school (Kamehameha Early Education Program) are from poor families who receive State

assistance. Such families are assumed in Hawaii, as well as on the mainland, to raise children who are apt to be linguistically and cognitively deficient. These problems as well as low motivation are often cited by Island educators as reasons for the poor school performance of Hawaiian children.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that the KEEP children speak as a first language, Hawaiian Islands Creole English. Creole or "pidgin" (as it is commonly called) has its origin in the 19th century during a period of rapid, massive immigration from North America, Europe, and Asia. For many years Creole was discouraged in the public schools because it was considered a barrier to learning, a "broken" English (Wist, 1940). (p. 27)

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: Socioeconomic Status

Condition 2: Unemployment

Condition Summary

Hawaiians are overrepresented among the State's unemployed. This is true with adults as well as with teenagers.

Potential Educational Interventions

- School-based programs that seek to ensure post-graduation employability.

Testimony

Alu Like, Inc., as a sponsor under the CETA program, has been heavily involved in tracking employment figures for Hawaiians, and public comments from the president and the executive director include the following:

> Hawaiians desperately need to increase their employment participation in the private sector businesses in order to increase their abilities to take care of themselves . . . One day soon, Hawaiians won't need to hang onto the edge of the pool . . . with these actions, and others brewing in Congress, Dan (Inouye) is helping us swim alone. (Myron Thompson in Altonn, 1978)

> We haven't even scratched the surface (of employment training). We're only accommodating 5 percent, at the most, of the number of Native Hawaiians who need to be accommodated in the program.

> The number of Native Hawaiians who are unemployed or underemployed is twice that of the unemployed in the entire state. . . We cannot take care of the full need. We hope that other employment entities will address the other portion. (Winona Rubin in Altonn, 1978)

While these were comments about unemployment in general, VerlieAnn Malina-Wright, Chairperson of the State Commission on Manpower and Full Employment, noted problems of unemployment among teenagers:

> Youth unemployment has a particularly marked impact on the disadvantaged. The 1975 figures for the island of Oahu, where 80 percent of the State's population resides, indicate that nearly one fourth (24.9 percent) of all unemployed teenagers (ages 16-19) were Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian, the highest rate for all ethnic groups. The Commission's findings, published in a 1978 report entitled *Profile of Hawaii's Youth in the Labor Force*, emphasized that youth who are disadvantaged in other areas; they often have low educational attainment and achievement, are emotionally troubled, present disciplinary problems, and lack social skills. The Native Hawaiian Education Act would go a long way to alleviate some of these disadvantages. (Bill 916, p. 221)

Social Indicator Data

In the testimony with respect to poverty among Hawaiians (see Condition 1: Poverty), Thompson and Hannahs (1979) contrasted a 6 percent unemployment rate for Hawaiians with a rate of 4 percent for the State as a whole. However, in the same section Agard offered an unemployment figure of 11.7 percent for Hawaiians statewide. The latter figure was based on state average 1975 for 1978, and it agrees exactly with the figure found in the OEO Census Update Survey. Specifically, Retherford (1982) reported the unemployment rates shown in Table 10 by enthnicity and county in his analysis of Census Update Survey data.

Even more detailed information about unemployment among Hawaiians was offered by Ikeda and Jackson (1980) in a tabulation

TABLE 10

Unemployment Rates by Ethnicity: Hawaii and its Counties, 1975 (in percentages)

Ethnicity	State	COUNTY			
		Honolulu	Hawaii	Maui	Kauai
Caucasian	9.5%	9.9%	10.0%	6.9%	4.5%
Filipino	6.6%	7.2%	4.5%	6.8%	2.1%
Hawaiian	11.7%	12.3%	10.1%	12.5%	2.2%
Japanese	4.1%	4.1%	4.7%	2.5%	3.1%
Other	9.8%	9.8%	12.3%	11.7%	4.1%

Source: Retherford, 1982, p. 4.

that was also based on OEO Census Update Survey information from 1975. As shown in Table 11 the highest unemployment rates among Hawaiians are for those with less than a high school education. This is particularly true for young workers aged 16-19 who did not complete high school: unemployment rates for males of this type was 33 percent, for females 55 percent. The lowest unemployment rate shown for college-educated females 25 years of age and older (1.4 percent), while the second lowest is for college-educated males (3.9 percent). In commenting on the situation of young females with less than a high school education, Jackson and Ikeda noted that, "The data indicated that one out of two teenaged Hawaiian females who did not finish high school, tried but could not find a job, and more than three out of four dropped out of the labor force because they were discouraged or did not even try to seek employment." (p. 10)

Further information about employment status among Hawaiians as contrasted with the state population as a whole was offered in the Alu Like booklet *"We Are Hawaiians"* (1979). Based on the 1975 OEO Census Update Survey findings, the data shown in Figures 25 and 26 were offered with the following comment:

> Compared to the total population, Native Hawaiians show higher percentage of persons unemployed as well as persons not in the labor force. A similar, but greater, difference exists in the youth population. (p. 13)

TABLE 11

Unemployment Rate (%) Among Hawaiians, by Sex, Location, Age, and Education, 1975

	Below High School			High School			College+		
AGE:	16-19	20-24	25+	16-19	20-24	25+	16-19	20-24	25+
(N)	34.3% (1190)	14.0% (431)	9.6% (4564)	23.1% (1103)	8.7% (2025)	6.6% (7060)	39.1% (279)	10.2% (1200)	3.8% (3509)
Other Counties	25.3% (283)	29.4% (137)	4.1% (1751)	18.5% (510)	15.3% (712)	7.1% (2576)	0* (72)	6.6% (317)	4.5% (966)
Neighbor Islands									
Hawaii	53.2%* (65)	21.0%* (95)	4.9% (844)	16.5%* (196)	12.9% (346)	9.9% (1265)	0* (24)	10.6%* (197)	7.3% (383)
Maui	17.8% (207)	65.7%* (31)	4.9% (611)	31.6% (195)	24.1% (266)	4.7% (986)	0* (15)	0* (88)	3.6% (422)
Kauai	0* (11)	0* (11)	0 (296)	0 (118)	0 (100)	3.3% (325)	0* (32)	0* (32)	0 (161)
Statewide	32.6% (1473)	17.7 (569)	8.0% (6315)	21.6% (1613)	10.4% (2737)	6.7% (9636)	31.1%* (351)	9.4% (1519)	3.9% (4475)
(N)	64.8%* (552)	0* (182)	9.9% (2089)	43.4% (772)	20.9% (1568)	9.0% (5323)	10.8%* (373)	8.5% (1073)	1.1% (1981)
Other Counties	39.1% (315)	39.4%* (44)	5.2% (949)	18.4% (302)	11.5% (394)	6.2% (1595)	11.3% (118)	8.5% (350)	2.6% (623)
Neighbor Islands									
Hawaii	32.7%* (88)	19.9%* (24)	4.3% (424)	34.6%* (104)	6.0%* (179)	8.1% (712)	4.9%* (76)	11.5%* (153)	2.1%* (257)
Maui	43.7% (217)	63.8% (19)	9.1% (341)	11.6%* (80)	18.7%* (184)	4.6% (652)	6.4%* (31)	13.6%* (90)	0 (214)
Kauai	0* (11)	**	0 (184)	8.9%* (119)	0* (231)	4.6% (231)	0 (11)	0* (107)	7.0%* (152)
Statewide	55.4% (867)	7.6%* (226)	8.4% (3038)	36.4% (1074)	19.0% (1962)	8.3% (6918)	10.9%* (491)	8.5% (1432)	1.4% (2604)

* Unweighted N 30 ** No information

Source: Ikeda & Jackson, 1980, p. 11.

Finally, figures obtained from the Department of Labor and Industrial Relations for 1981 show Hawaiians ranked fifth in terms of the number and percent of unemployment insurance claimants. A summary of the information made available is offered in Table 12.

TABLE 12

Rank Ordering of the Number and Percent of Unemployment Insurance Claimants by Ethnic Group, State of Hawai'i 1981

Ethnic Group	Number	Percent
1. White	2,161	24%
2. Filipino	1,610	18%
3. Japanese	1,562	18%
4. Other	1,416	16%
5. Hawaiian	897	10%
6. Unknown	721	8%
7. Chinese	386	4%
8. Black	92	1%
9. Spanish	54	.5%
10. Indian	2	.02%

Source: Based on a 20 percent sample of claimants. Information maintained as part of the Continuous Wage and benefit History program. Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, State of Hawaii, July 1982.

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: Socioeconomic Status

Condition 3: Job Status

Condition Summary

In general, Hawaiians are markedly underrepresented in managerial/professional job categories conceded to be of high status in the community, while they are overrepresented in structural and miscellaneous occupations that tend to be of relatively low status.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Programs, whether motivational or informational, that encourage capable youth to pursue the education needed for entry into high-status, well-paying fields of employment.

Testimony

Following World War II and throughout the 1950's there was generally a de-emphasis in Hawaii on identification of the special problems faced by individual ethnic groups. At the same time, trusts with special obligations to specific target groups needed to focus selectively on problems among their beneficiaries. Queen Liliuokalani Trust (QLT), for example, requested outside evaluation and comment from Joseph Reid, then executive director of the Child Welfare League of America. One of his recommendations was that QLT conduct a study on "Why many children of Hawaiian descent grow up without motivation to attain substantial achievement in the fields of education, business, and the professions" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* July 15, 1959). Comments from Myron Thompson, then caseworker and student supervisor, were that the suggestions from the outside expert:

> . . . substantiate the feelings that we've (QLT) had for a long time that

FIGURE 25

Employment Status of Population Age 14 and Over

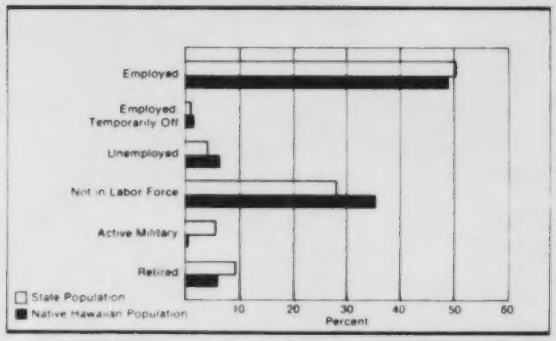
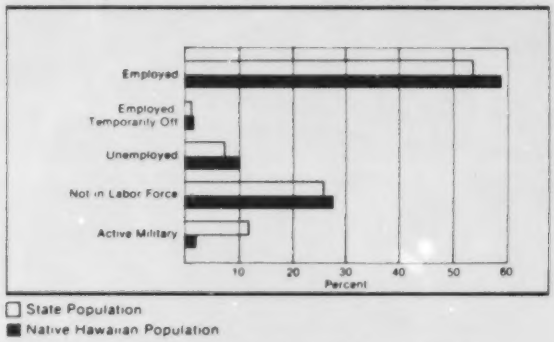


FIGURE 26

Employment Status of Youth Age 19-25



Source: *He Hawai'i Makou (We Are Hawaiians)*, Alu Like, Inc. 1979, P. 13.

Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians are low on the professional scale.

Usually we've found that they don't qualify educationally for such jobs.

The problem is to find out why they lack this push to get the necessary education. (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, July 15, 1959)

The airing of the issue of career outcomes and academic achievement among Hawaiians culminated in a study of the socioeconomic status of Hawaiians as of the early 1960s (Liliuokalani Trust Advisory Board, 1962). This report marked the first time in well over two decades that issues of this type with respect to Hawaiians were given serious consideration in the public forum (e.g., *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, October 10, 1962; *Honolulu Advertiser*, July 7, 1962). Some of the findings of this landmark report were that the 17 percent of the population who were Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian accounted for 35-40 percent of financially destitute families, 42 percent of juvenile arrests, 51 percent of illegitimate births, and 20 percent of all divorces. Additionally, Hawaiians had the highest dropout rates of any ethnic group, and they were seemingly underrepresented among seniors graduating from high school since they only accounted for 5 percent of this group. Needless to say, it was also found that very few Hawaiians attended or completed college.

In recent years concerns about the representation of Hawaiians in the ranks of high-status occupations have continued to be a major concern of Hawaiians. For example, grants to Alu Like Inc. for job training benefits to Hawaiians under the federal Comprehensive Employment Training Act have been intended to help both unemployed as well as underemployed individuals find permanent jobs (cf. Kakesako, 1977). And special programs administered through the University of Hawaii have resulted in increasing numbers of Hawaiians completing their medical training, as Dean of the Medical School at the University, Ben Young, testified:

> It is with pride that in 1975, when we graduated our first class, we exactly doubled the number of practicing physicians in the State of Hawaii—five physicians of Hawaiian ethnic background doubling to 10 practicing in the State of Hawaii. (Bill 916, p. 132)

Social Indicator Data

The data shown in Table 13, taken from Lind (1980, pp. 86-87), indicate that slight advantages that Hawaiians once enjoyed in the professions have eroded considerably in the face of strong showings among island people of other ethnic groups, including the Chinese, Japanese, Caucasians, Koreans, and Filipinos.

More recently, data from the State Department of Health (1981), shown in Table 14, sug-

TABLE 13

Gainfully Employed Males Classified as Professional, 1896 - 1977*

	1896		1910		1930		1950		1977	
	Number Employed	Percent[1] of Total	Number Employed	Percent[1] of Total	Number Employed	Percent[1] of Total	Number Employed	Percent[1] of Total	Number Employed	Percent[1] of Total
Hawaiian	132	1.4%	126	1.6%	242	4.1%	93	3.6%		
									1,916	6.9%
Part Hawaiian	54	4.0%	71	3.1%	293	6.7%	649	6.3%		
Portuguese	30	.7%			180	2.6%				
			444	3.1%			4,232	16.9%	11,223	21.2%
Other Caucasian	164	4.9%			1,563	17.2%				
Chinese	300	1.8%	65	.5%	259	3.0%	876	10.7%	1,344	19.8%
Japanese	88	.5%	221	.5%	1,204	3.4%	2,506	5.5%	11,983	18.1%
Filipino	–	–	–	–	268	.6%	296	1.2%	1,344	6.3%
Korean	–	–	–	–	58	2.7%	121	8.6%	187	7.8%
Puerto Rican	–	–	–	–	20	1.1%	15	.9%	59	4.1%
All Others	13	2.2%	23	.4%	32	4.2%	138	3.7%	1,788	10.5%
TOTAL	781	1.5%	950	1.1%	4,119	3.4%	8,829	7.3%	30,851	15.3%

[1] e.g., 132 represents 1.4 percent of all Hawaiian males in 1896.

* Data for 1977 derived from Hawaii Health Surveillance Program Survey. All other data from U.S. census reports and Census of the Republic of Hawaii, 1896.

Source: Lind, 1980, pp. 86-87.

TABLE 14

Percent of Employed Civilians 16 Years Old and Over in High- and Low-Status Occupations, by Sex and Ethnic Stock: 1980

	Percent in High-Status Occupations[2]		Percent in Low-Status Occupations[2]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
ALL GROUPS	31.5%	25.7%	10.0%	2.0%
Caucasian	44.5%	34.2%	6.8%	1.0%
Japanese	31.6%	26.8%	5.1%	1.4%
Chinese	51.6%	36.3%	3.6%	0
Filipino	8.5%	9.9%	25.4%	7.4%
Hawaiian	–	–	–	–
Korean	–	–	–	–
Negro	–	–	–	–
Puerto Rican	–	–	–	–
Samoan	–	–	–	–
Other unmixed or unknown	–	–	–	–
Part Hawaiian	24.5%	18.3%	12.8%	1.9%
Other mixed	23.0%	24.3%	7.4%	0.2%

1 Professional and technical workers, farmers and farm managers, and managers, officials, and proprietors, as a percent of all civilians 16 years old and over reporting occupation.

2 Farm laborers and foremen and nonfarm laborers as a percent of all civilians 16 years old and over reporting occupation.

Source: Kawaguchi, Nishi, and Schmidt, 1981.

gests the dominance of Caucasian and Chinese males in high-status fields of employment. Their position can be contrasted with the relative standing of groups such as the Filipinos and part-Hawaiians who tend to be concentrated in the low-status job sectors.

At the opposite end of the job status spectrum, information about the number of gainfully employed males classified as laborers among the various ethnic groups in Hawaii shows the relatively rapid rise of almost all of the local groups. As shown in Table 15, Hawaiians have tended to rise above the classification of laborer much less rapidly than any of the other groups. The data also illustrate the "last to arrive" hypothesis: that is, it is clear that a relatively recently-arrived group such as the Filipinos appears to have been hampered somewhat in attempts to bring their members out of the laborer classification due to the crowding effect at the top among immigrant groups who have been long established in the Islands (e.g., the Chinese and Japanese). Hawaiians, meanwhile, although present in the Islands the longest, may in some respects be the "last to arrive" in terms of the values system and cultural practices of Western society (cf., Lind, 1980).

The general occupational status of Hawaiians as evidenced by employment has been detailed in Alu Like's publication *He Hawaii Makou (We are Hawaiians)* (1979). Specific comments under the heading of "Occupation of Persons Employed in the Last Five Years" were as follows:

> Comparison with the State population shows that Native Hawaiians have higher percentages of people in structural and miscellaneous occupations and lower percentages in professional, technical, and adminministrative positions. A similar pattern is shown in the youth population. (p. 14)

Graphs showing Hawaiian employment and state total employment in specific fields are available.

Government employment in Hawaii has lately been of some concern due largely to the predominance of those of Japanese ancestry in State positions. For example, Rapson (1980) presented data from 1964 - 1967 as well as from 1978 showing the distribution of government jobs among the major ethnic groups of the Islands. Data he provided are displayed in Table 16. In general, it can be seen that Hawaiians, who make up an estimated 17.9 percent of the state population, fare quite well at the State and County levels, in fact being overrepresented among those in service with the County. At the Federal level, meanwhile, the available figures for 1964 - 1967 show an underrepresentation.

A similar study of employment patterns in the corrections field showed unbalanced employment across ethnic groups, Hawaiians apparently being underrepresented (Inkyo, 1974).

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: Socioeconomic Status

Condition 4: Social Welfare

TABLE 15

Gainfully Employed Males Classified as Laborers, 1896 - 1977*

	1896		1910		1930		1950		1977	
	Number Employed	Percent[1] of Total	Number Employed	Percent[1] of Total	Number Employed	Percent[1] of Total	Number Employed	Percent[1] of Total	Number Employed	Percent[1] of Total
Hawaiian	2,758	30.0%	4,040	50.5%	2,325	39.5%	892	34.6%	1,980	10.6%
Part Hawaiian	348	25.5%	569	24.9%	959	22.1%	2,062	20.0%		
Portuguese	3,036	73.6%	6,898	43.8%	2,044	30.1%	2,235	5.1%	2,917	3.6%
Other Caucasian	312	9.3%			396	4.4%				
Chinese	10,923	65.8%	6,680	48.6%	2,088	24.4%	431	5.3%	40	.3%
Japanese	14,394	87.5%	33,871	76.8%	12,754	35.9%	7,482	16.3%	3,433	5.2%
Filipino	–	–	–	–	41,075	90.1%	13,387	52.5%	4,400	19.9%
Korean	–	–	–	–	1,142	53.4%	160	11.4%	221	9.2%
Puerto Rican	–	–	–	–	1,455	78.2%	851	34.4%	408	28.3%
All Others	256	43.2%	5,355	89.7%	173	81.2%	787	21.2%	1,583	9.4%
TOTAL	32,027	61.9%	57,413	65.0%	64,411	53.6%	27,277	22.5%	16,124	8.0%

[1] e.g., 2,758 represents 30.0 percent of all Hawaiian males in 1896.

* Data for 1977 derived from Hawaii Health Surveillance Program Survey, *Population Characteristics of Hawaii 1977* (January 1979). All other data derived from report of reports of U.S. Census Bureau and Superintendent of Census, Republic of Hawaii, 1896.

Source: Lind, 1980, pp. 84-85.

Condition Summary

Hawaiians are disproportionately represented on State Social Welfare rolls.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Programs that address the educational needs of youth who may be "at-risk" with respect to a range of negative social welfare outcomes and correlates.

Testimony

Level of income and social welfare status naturally go hand-in-hand and the following brief excerpt from an Alu Like publication describes the situation among Hawaiians in general:

TABLE 16

Government Employment

	1964 - 1967				1978	
	Percent of Total Population	Percent of Federal Service	Percent of State Service	Percent of County Service	State Service (N-11,047)	County Service (N=7,198)
Japanese	28.8%	29.3%	45.7%	30.9%	47.2%	31.7%
Caucasian	25.5%	22.1%	10.0%	5.6%	15.4%	10.3%
Part-Hawaiian	18.0%	11.1%	17.5%	32.3%	15.7%	32.1%
Cosmopolitan	8.4%	4.9%	5.0%	5.2%	–	–
Filipino	6.7%	9.8%	4.3%	3.9%	8.2%	4.8%
Chinese	6.3%	9.8%	11.4%	10.2%	8.4%	7.7%
Portuguese	2.5%	3.3%	2.5%	4.6%	**	**
Other (Mainly Korean & Black)	1.6%	2.9%	1.8%	1.7&	–	–
Hawaiian	.9%	1.1%	1.1%	1.7%	*	*
Puerto Rican	.6%	1.0%	.7%	2.1%	–	–
Others	–	–	–	–	5.2%	13.4%

*Combined with Part-Hawaiian
**Combined with Caucasian

Source: Rapson, 1980, p. 84.

In 1975, 62.6 percent of the Native Hawaiian people had no reportable income. Of those with income, nearly one-third (31.2 percent) received less than $4,000 a year. Of the approximately 19,000 clients of the State Department of Social Services and Housing (DSSH) in 1975, 4,700 (25 percent) were adult Native Hawaiians. Of the 39,000 children receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) assistance, 12,000 (31 percent) were Native Hawaiian. Overall, approximately 30 percent of the State's welfare recipients are of Hawaiian ancestry, almost double their percentage of the total state population of 16.7 percent.

Selected Hawaiian communities seem to be more vulnerable to the factors that produce welfare circumstances. For example, Waianae on the Leeward coast of Oahu is an area that is frequently singled out as a Hawaiian community with special needs. Welfare figures for this area offered by Stewart (1980) were as follows: "About 34 percent of the Waianae school population is on welfare, compared to 15 percent of the state's total school population." This is of concern to educators because of the negative correlation with educational achievement. As Thompson and Hannahs (1979) testified, ". . . there is substantial evidence to show that socially undesirable and costly indicators such as welfare eligibility rates and criminal rates are **negatively** correlated with educational achievement among native Hawaiians" (p. 16). They also offered the information contained in Table 17 with respect to "welfare eligible" rates among Hawaiians and the relationship with educational achievement.

TABLE 17

Native Hawaiian "Welfare Eligible" Rates by Educational Achievement (1976)

Highest Grade Completed	Percent "Welfare Eligible"
Less than 12	26.3%
12	14.6%
More than 12	8.8%

A recent account of welfare fraud in the State of Hawaii suggests the pressures that some Hawaiian families face in connection with poverty living. This brief case study of a single Hawaiian woman in her mid 30s, the mother of four school-age children, described how she failed to report outside income, and eventually was prosecuted and sentenced to a two-year jail term as a result of first-degree theft of $16,983 (Ong, 1983). During a probation period that preceded jail and into the two year incarceration period this family had the following experiences, ones that presumably disrupted the children's educations as they had to direct their energy towards survival and pressing family problems:

> . . . She and the children moved in with Rachel's mother, then moved out. For several months in 1980, the family lived on Nanakuli beach, 'moving from one end to another.' They slept in shifts on the beach and ate at a relative's house in Nanakuli . . . In September [1982], Rachel learned that her son had hanged himself at home Two weeks later, Rachel was released from prison . . .

The stress of the combined factors involved in this situation was obvious in the case of the child who committed suicide; the other children presumably have their own burdens to bear as they struggle to complete educations that were severely disrupted by an extreme family emergency associated with living in poverty.

Social Indicator Data

Research conducted during the past year revealed that welfare information is rarely, if ever, broken down by ethnic group. For example, the Department of Social Services and Housing was unable to provide welfare data by ethnicity; however, Kanahele (1982b) offered the information included in Table 18. In general, it can be seen that Hawaiians were represented in the welfare recipients group at about the same level as their representation in the general population, i.e., they did not appear to be substantially over- or under-represented. The same seems to be true with respect to food stamp use. In other areas, though, Hawaiians were markedly overrepresented among those receiving public assistance payments and underrepresented among Medicaid recipients.

TABLE 18

Welfare Participation by Hawaii's Major Ethnic Groups, 1982[1]

	Welfare Recipients		Specific Welfare Categories: Public Assistance		Food Stamps		Medicaid	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Caucasian	14,379	23.1%	6,401	37.7%	5,705	41.3%	2,019	21.9%
Hawaiian	11,159	17.7%	6,758	39.8%	2,765	20.0%	1,386	15.1%
Japanese	5,869	9.4%	1,109	6.5%	1,665	12.1%	2,680	29.1%
Filipino	8,455	13.5%	2,420	14.3%	3,119	22.6%	2,442	26.5%
Chinese	1,622	2.6%	291	1.7%	565	4.1%	674	7.3%

[1] Information was only available for selected groups; some categories eliminated in the original source, therefore rows do not total 100%.

Source: Kanahele, 1982 b, p. 36.

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: Socioeconomic Status

Condition 5: Educational Achievement and Socioeconomic Status

Condition Summary

> Testimonial as well as Test Score Data of many types indicate that the educational achievement of Hawaiians as a group is quite limited. SES-related concerns include severe underrepresentation within institutions of higher learning and data which show that many high school graduates lack essential basic competencies.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Educational programming designed to enhance post-high school achievement of indigenous minority youth.

Testimony

Testimonial comments about the overall academic achievement of Hawaiian youth tended to center around standardized test scores. For instance, the following two statements suggest the general understanding of test score findings among professional educators:

> Hawaiian students fall behind non-Hawaiians in the development of basic math and reading skills as they progress through the DOE school system. (Henning, 1978c)
>
> . . . Currently Hawaiian youngsters by grade 6 are already falling behind in reading skills and reportedly score two stanines below the average for the State. This act will provide for special remediation, comprehension, academic, and vocational instruction and special education programs. (Winona Rubin, Bill 916, p. 212).

Sample newspaper reports on this issue prepared for general audiences include Ong (1980) and Verploegen (1980).

Paralleling the concern about standardized test score performance of Hawaiians is a growing realization that many high school graduates have very weak basic skills (cf., Ong, 1980). For example, Randy Kalahiki testified as follows:

> Although Hawaiians comprise a substantial percentage of the school-age children, proportionately few receive high school diplomas or continue their education after high school. Of those who receive high school diplomas, many still lack the necessary reading and writing skills to continue their education or compete in the job market. (Bill 916, p. 224).

The role of grades is also a key consideration for graduating seniors who are suddenly faced with the decision to either terminate their educations or to pursue higher education. Donna Kapu described the rude awakening that some youngsters experience:

> I, for one, a year now—not quite a year—worked at Molokai High School, what is called the Easter program, an Emergency School Aid Act. I worked with 20 children who have remedial problems, but on top of these remedial problems, they have many other prob-

lems that I think most of the Molokai children have. I could say maybe 75 to 80 percent, and some of the problems are that many of the students there at the high school, upon graduating, their GPA—the grade point average—is very, very low so they are not qualified for scholarships, and many of them have to graduate and not really be able to pursue their education because of this.

I know I have worked with some seniors who want to go into education some more. They have this desire, but because their grade point average is very low, they are not able to. They just feel, well, "I just got to go out and work and get some money. I can't go to school because I'm not that smart." (Bill 916, p. 144).

Certainly one implication of the limited educational achievement among Hawaiians is that few are likely to be qualified to continue on to higher education. Even among those who do show academic promise, however, paying for college expenses is frequently a problem. This reality was clearly established by a range of individuals who pointed up the great need for financial assistance to college-bound Hawaiians. In many cases the testimony related personal experiences in terminating an educational career due to lack of funds. A sample of some of the testimony reviewed is as follows:

> Speaking as a Native Hawaiian, I didn't have the opportunity to seek a higher level of education. My limited educational background came from the Kamehameha schools, having graduated in 1962. Because of the lack of financial aid, I was not able to continue on to college and therefore, stayed here and enrolled at the Kauai Community College. I strived to learn and obtain a job. Many of my experiences were from the actual job-related duties. (Liberta Albao, Bill 916, p. 211).
>
> We do have experience with attempting to meet this need by financial aid and we discovered that where financial aid and special curricular combinations have been implemented by the university, Hawaiians do enroll, and they do succeed and graduate.
>
> The fellowships that are proposed in the measure would remove the burden not only for income but of the actual out-of-pocket cost by providing that necessary financial support to students, and also relieve the burden of the parents. (Durwood Long, Bill 916, p. 189).

Other testimony in this area included: Bill 916, Donna Kapu, p. 145; Evelyn Olores, p. 215; Lovey Apana, p. 205.

The socioeconomic cycling associated with limited educational achievement, range of employment, and financial resources was most frequently noted at three points: graduation from high school, university attendance, and employment. For example, a Wery and Piianaia report (1973) submitted as testimony in 1978 noted that:

> . . . even more disturbing is the underachievement of many Hawaiian children in the public schools. As stated in a speech by Mr. Myron Thompson, of the Department of Social Services and Housing, on May 26, 1973, they number about 30 percent of the school population but only 5 percent of the graduates. And again, Hawaiian teachers, counselors, librarians and principals are conspicuous by their absence. This failure to participate to the optimum in the twin resources of public education is one of the most significant symptoms of the unhealthy social condition of many Hawaiians in their homeland.

And they also addressed the major question of interest to them, "Where are the Hawaiians?":

> . . . This question hits one repeatedly as he moves about the several campuses of the University of Hawaii, particularly Manoa and Hilo. Hawaiians make up about 17 percent of the state's population but they comprise only 10 percent of the student enrollment in the University system, from a low of 4.4 at Manoa and 8.4 at Hilo to a gratifying high of 21.5 at Hawaii Community College, up from 14.4 just three years ago. To our knowledge no one has tallied the number of Hawaiians on the faculty and staff and in the administration but it is clear that this percentage is even smaller than that of the students. (Bill 857, p. 188)

Further information about the number of Hawaiians in attendance at the University of Hawaii came from Durwood Long, then Vice

President of Academic Affairs at the Manoa Campus:

> **Senator Inouye**. Dr. Long, I thank you very much. In order to further clarify what you have testified to, these statistics might be of interest to the people here.
>
> As you know, Dr. Long spoke of the small number of Hawaiians who are presently on the campus at the University of Hawaii and the affiliates. In the fall of 1976, according to statistics made available to us by the University of Hawaii, there were approximately 32,700 regular students on the campus. Of that number, only 308 were Hawaiians, or a total of 1.4 percent, 1,079 were part-Hawaiians, a total of 3.1 percent.
>
> In other words, if you put Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians together, they constitute 4.5 percent of the total school population of the University of Hawaii. In 1977, with approximately 30,000 regular students on the campuses of the University of Hawaii, 1.6 percent or 329 out of 30,000 were Hawaiians, and 3.4 percent or 1,129 were part-Hawaiians. In other words, 5 percent of the total school population were Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian.
>
> Most recently, in the fall 1978, out of approximately 21,000 regular students, 375 or 1.8 percent were Hawaiians, and 1,234 or 5.8 percent, were part-Hawaiians, for a total of 7.6 percent Hawaiians or part-Hawaiians.
>
> So, as you have indicated, these are dismal and rather sad statistics to be presenting at this time. It is your contention that this measure might assist to improve upon these statistics?
>
> **Dr. Long**. There is no question that it would, Senator... (Bill 916, p. 191)

Other comments from Dr. Long noted the need for financial aid and special programming (Bill 916, p. 90).

Additional testimony about special programming for Hawaiian college students included a personal report from Byron Cleeland:

> Most of the programs that I have seen for the general population have been effective—as you mentioned earlier, the COP project at the University of Hawaii.
>
> I just happened to be on campus last summer and I was rooming in the dormitory with these students and it was a very mixed group—Hawaiians and all, but these are students. As I got to know most of them, they would not have been in college, probably, at all if it were not for a special program which encouraged them and provided funds.
>
> So, I feel there is not something that is aimed particularly at the Hawaiian group. I think if there were something, it would be effective as this bill. I think this is a good program. (Byron Cleeland, Bill 916, p. 199)

Finally, a comment from Lovey Apana seems to indicate how attitudes and desires of Hawaiians with respect to higher education may be changing:

> At one time when pineapple and sugar were the largest industries in Hawaii, everyone could get a job. Why? Because

TABLE 19

University of Hawai'i at Manoa Enrollment, 1979

	U.H. Enrollment (Manoa) Percent	1977 State Population (for all islands) Percent
Caucasian (except Portuguese)	21.6%	27.5%
Caucasian-Portuguese	0.7%	—
Japanese	34.4%	25.9%
Chinese	10.9%	4.8%
Korean	1.7%	1.2%
Negro	0.5%	0.9%
Filipino	3.5%	10.7%
Samoan	—	0.7%
Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian*	1.9%	17.0%
Mixed	6.0%	9.8%
Other	4.2%	0.5%
No Response	14.6%	—

* U.H. statistics do not list a special category for part-Hawaiian. In 1979, 1.9 percent of U.H.M. students were listed as Hawaiian, 6.0 percent as Mixed and 2.6 percent as "Mixed Asian/Pacific Islander." By any counting, Hawaiians are not well-represented at U.H.M. It should be noted at 14.6 percent of U.H. students were listed as "No Response." Additionally for the U.H. system statewide, the percent for Hawaiians increases to 4.3 percent (6.1 percent in the community colleges) and for Mixed to 8.4 percent (10.5 percent in the community colleges). Filipinos are 8 percent of the student body statewide and almost 13 percent of the community college population, the latter figure being above their proportion of the state population.

Source: Rapson, 1980, p. 116.

you needed the minimum skill, and ditch digging didn't require too much education and skill. The local expression was 'No need brains, just brawns.'

But today's society has changed. Industries have become more sophisticated and are moving toward an electronics society, and with this in mind, education, increased adult education, professional education, and on-the-job training will be the only answer. (Bill 916, p. 205)

Social Indicator Data

Information about relative representation of Hawaiians in the U.H. system comes from two sources other than the Werry and Piianaia (1973) report. Rapson (1980) offered the findings shown in Table 19 with respect to the relative representation of various ethnic groups at the U.H. Manoa Campus. Although the figures for part-Hawaiians are clearly low due to the procedural peculiarities noted, it is also evident that Hawaiians were substantially underrepresented. Overrepresented groups, meanwhile, included the Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and "Others," while Caucasian, Black, Filipino, Samoan, and Mixed categories were also underrepresented.

A second source of information about relative representation in the University of Hawaii system was found in Kanahele (1982). A University of Hawaii study from 1982 was used to prepare the figures displayed in Table 20. A review of these data show that Hawaiians were overrepresented in the community colleges (124 percent of expected) and markedly underrepresented at the baccalaureate granting campuses (10 percent of expected). Contrasting these figures with others in the Table, it can be seen that Orientals are the primary users of the University of Hawaii system, while Filipinos and Caucasians tend to be underrepresented along with Hawaiians.

Finally, a gross estimate of the correlation between level of educational attainment and family income is evident in the data presented in Table 21. The median years of school completed for persons 25 years old and over and the median family incomes for a range of different ethnic groups in Hawaii shows generally that groups with higher levels of education also tend to have higher median family incomes. As is the case generally when figures are shown separately for Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians, Hawaiians can be seen to fare more poorly than do the part-Hawaiians.

TABLE 20
Estimates of Students in College/Universities

	Hawaiian	Caucasian	Chinese	Japanese	Filipino
U.H. System					
Actual	2,480	9,860	3,700	13,640	3,623
Expected*	2,864	13,563	2,416	10,526	3,934
Percent of Expected	87%	73%	153%	130%	92%
Community Colleges					
Actual	1,787	4,708	1,350	6,186	2,736
Expected	1,442	6,828	1,216	5,229	1,981
Percent of Expected	124%	69%	111%	118%	138%
Baccalaureate Colleges					
Actual	693	5,152	2,350	7,454	887
Expected	6,734	6,734	1,200	5,226	1,953
Percent of Expected	10%	77%	196%	143%	45%
U.H.—Manoa only					
Actual	580	4,608	2,257	6,867	794
Expected	1,308	6,196	1,104	4,809	1,797
Percent of Expected	44%	74%	204%	143%	44%

Hawaiians are clearly underrepresented in the University system, especially on the baccalaureate granting (4-year) campuses.

* "Expected" refers to the numbers that would be expected if the student population had the same ethnic mix as the 16 years and older resident population.

Source: Kanahele, 1982 b, p. 16.

Specifically, Hawaiians show the lowest median family income of any group listed, while part-Hawaiians top both Filipino and "Other Mixed" groups.

Social Science Analysis

Social scientists working in Hawaii have offered some work relevant to the trends and patterns discussed above. Alu Like, Inc., for example, has relied on help from demographers and other social scientists from the outset of their work in order to determine as accurately as possible the special needs of Hawaiians in the State of Hawaii. A sample of the type of analysis they are able to offer is the following overview of educational achievement among Hawaiians:

> In Hawaii's public schools, Native Hawaiians tend to perform below the average level: in competency tests Hawaiian students demonstrate a norm in the second stanine, versus the State norm in the fourth stanine and the national norm in the fifth stanine. The average completed level of education was 11.7 years among Native Hawaiian survey respondents. From 1976 to 1981, the percentage of Hawaiians who completed high school increased but the percentage with some college experience decreased.
>
> An estimated 3.5% of Hawaiian adults have earned baccalaureate degrees versus the State total of 9.9%. While the survey respondents indicated college as the first choice in educational goals for both self and children, in actuality they both chose or completed apprenticeship, high school, or business school training. The major reasons for not achieving preferred educational levels were "lack of financial resources,. . . family obligations, and getting married." (Alu Like, Inc., 1982; p. 16)

TABLE 21

Median Years of School Completed for Persons 25 Years Old and Over and Median Income of Families and Unrelated Individuals, by Ethnic Stock: 1980

	Median Years of School[1]	Median Income of Families[2]		Median Income of Unrelated Individuals	
		All Families	Civilian Only	All Individuals	Civilian Only
ALL GROUPS	12.7	18,599	19,569	9,617	9,791
Caucasian	13.6	18,528	20,823	10,164	10,795
Japanese	12.6	23,183	23,209	10,037	10,037
Chinese	13.0	23,930	23,859	9,261	9,261
Filipino	12.1	15,328	16,361	7,825	7,825
Hawaiian	12.1	11,997	11,997	–	–
Korean	12.7	–	–	–	–
Negro	12.9	–	–	–	–
Puerto Rican	10.7	–	–	–	–
Samoan	12.0	–	–	–	–
Other mixed or unknown	–	–	–	–	–
Part Hawaiian	12.5	16,267	16,445	9,283	9,283
Other mixed	12.7	14,185	14,439	9,852	9,852

[1]Persons 25 years old and over. Excludes vocational.

[2]By ethnic stock and military status of family head.

The figures quoted here for completion of baccalaureate degrees are of interest in light of Mainland trends. Although specific Mainland or normative college completion rates were not obtained, analysis offered by Lind (1980) suggests that college completion rates of ethnic groups living in Hawaii may be lower than their counterparts living on the Mainland:

> As an interesting sidelight, one might note that the sizeable minority of all enumerated Hawaiians (28 percent in 1970) residing on the mainland showed a distinctly higher proportion of young adults

who had completed four or more years of college than was shown by their kinsmen who had remained in the Islands. A similar disparity in the extent of college attendance prevailed between the four Oriental communities in Hawaii and their counterparts on the mainland, according to the 1970 census. (p. 97)

Perhaps there are factors locally that mitigate against completion of college degrees, or the pressures in this direction may simply be greater in many or most Mainland social contexts. In any event, it is indeed of interest to discover a sizeable population of Hawaiians whose general educational achievement and social positions may be distinctly different from those of Hawaiians in the State of Hawaii.

The question of the relationship between socioeconomic status and educational achievement has long had a strong hold on educational researchers. With reports such as that of Coleman et al. (1966) the generally-accepted view seems to have become that there is a marked relationship between academic achievement and socioeconomic status. One of the implications of such a view is that schools may be very limited in what they can hope to accomplish if in fact the major determinant of educational achievement is beyond their realm of influence, as would generally be the case with socioeconomic status.

In Hawaii a report out of the Department of Education in 1965 lent support to the notion that achievement in Hawaii's schools is related to socioeconomic status. The conclusion of this report provides insight into a point of view that emphasizes SES factors over other explanations in understanding—and planning interventions for—instances of marked academic underachievement in Hawaii. The authors' thoughts were as follows:

> It might be said that the best lesson we can draw from this study is that we should refrain from boasting about or being overly discouraged by the performance of students in particular schools. The possibility is very strong that apparent differences in student achievement are more closely related to family background than to the educational program. We should not claim credit for that which we have not achieved, nor should we feel a sense of guilt for circumstances beyond our control. The real challenge is to raise the achievement of students above that which we would predict on the basis of socioeconomic status. This means devising educational programs to fit the student of our varied neighborhoods. We can no longer look at state norms and feel proud of those schools which exceed the 50th percentile, and guilty about those which fall below. We must look at individual schools, make judgments about what we should expect on the basis of socioeconomic conditions and then devise educational programs to allow the students to rise above those expectations. (Savard & Araki, 1965; pp. 8-9)

In direct contrast to this earlier report, Wegner (1977) found that cultural factors seemed to be much more important determinants of academic achievement than SES factors. A major excerpt from his analysis is as follows:

> The strong association of ethnicity with educational outcomes independently of socioeconomic background lends support to the view that cultural differences are most fundamental in explaining levels of achievement among youth in Hawaii. Furthermore, the variables of parental and peer expectations seem relevant to assessing the perceived cultural pressures for achievement. In most cases, these variables were found to mediate the effects of ethnicity on educational outcomes.
>
> The Chinese, Japanese and Korean cultures appear to strongly support educational achievement. The grade point averages, and the educational expectations of these students, their parents and their peers were higher than for the other ethnic groups. Furthermore, these differences persisted after controlling for socioeconomic background. The High level of expectations among Asian immigrants was especially suggestive of cultural pressures to achieve given the modest socioeconomic status of these families and the likely situational difficulties experienced in adapting to a new social environment.
>
> In contrast, Hawaiian students appeared not to experience cultural pressures to achieve in school. The education-

al performance and level of expectations of Hawaiian students were considerably lower than all other groups, and controlling for socioeconomic status reduced only slightly the differences between Hawaiians and Local Orientals. Hawaiian students also reported that parental and peer expectations were lower than for all other groups. In fact, when these variables were controlled, the discrepancy between Hawaiians and Local Orientals in educational outcomes was considerably reduced. This result suggests that the lower educational attainments of Hawaiians in fact were associated with lower pressures for achievement. (pp. 22-23)

In addition to his observations about cultural factors and their role in determining academic achievement, Wegner examined the impact of school context. He did find some important differences between schools which are of special interest because the rural school he studied included a high percentage of Hawaiian youth. Specifically, he reported that:

> The rural school appeared to employ an easier standard of academic evaluation and provided little encouragement to attend college compared with the other schools. Despite the relatively high grades of these students, performance on standardized tests in this school is far below state norms. Neverthless, this author (Wegner **et al**; 1976) found that students in the Rural school had the fewest complaints about courses, teachers and the quality of their education. It seems possible that the policies and practices of this school may foster low performance expectations in order to maintain high morale among the students. If this is so, the Rural school can be seen to function to "cool out" students of lower socioeconomic status, and particularly Hawaiian and Filipino students. (Wegner, 1977; p. 25)

These observations are of particular interest in light of the Department of Education study mentioned above (Savard & Araki, 1965) in which the opinion was voiced that there might be little educators can hope to accomplish with students from low socioeconomic backgrounds.

In closing, a recent meta-evaluation of nearly 200 studies of SES and achievement by White (1982) does lend support to the Wegner findings. Specifically, White found only a weak correlation between achievement and SES at the individual level of analysis when fairly gross and typical indices of SES (e.g., income, education, and/or occupation of household head) were used. However, other more specific variables that may sometimes be mistakenly used as SES variables (e.g., home atmosphere, aspirations of parents for their children) do correlate reliably with academic achievement. Such are the cultural variables Wegner discussed.

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: Physical Health

Condition 1: Multiple Health Problems

Condition Summary

> A range of health concerns are indicated by relatively low life expectancy, overrepresentation among victims of specific diseases (e.g., diabetes), high incidence of cancer and hypertension, etc.

Potential Educational Interventions

- School health education programs.
- Condition-specific preventive health education for school-age youth.
- School-based support services to families in which health problems interfere with educational activities of youth.

Testimony

If the claims of some health professionals that life-stress events are highly correlated with incidence of diseases of many types are true, then the general health record of Hawaiians is certainly an indication of high life stress: their health is clearly the poorest of any ethnic group in the state.

The litany of health problems of Native Hawaiians has been concisely summarized by Winona Rubin (1980), Executive Director of Alu Like, Inc., the non-profit agency that has maintained extensive files of social indicator data related to Hawaiians:

Native Hawaiians do not fare as well as other ethnic groups in the state by many health indicators. Native Hawaiians have higher than average physical health problems for chronic conditions such as cancer, diabetes, gout, coronary heart diseases, dental health, and child and family nutrition. Self-reports of health conditions, such as days in bed, hospital visits and time lost from work are comparable with all other groups; however, Native Hawaiians in all age groups have higher death rates than most other groups. The Native Hawaiian's life expectancy at birth is shorter than the state average by six to seven years.

The quality of health for older Native Hawaiians is also dismal. Approximately 25 percent of elderly Native Hawaiians age 65 years or more have either not registered for Medicare or are not enrolled in a health care program. Many elderly Native Hawaiians continue to make use of traditional spiritual and folk remedies. Professional help might be sought after traditional remedies have been exhausted, and then only if the health care provider's relationship is on a one to one basis.

The poor health and income of elderly Native Hawaiians leave them especially vulnerable to high health care costs and inadequate health services. (Hawaii Advisory Committee to U. S. Comission on Civil Rights, 1980)

In a similar more recent summary Thompson and Hannahs (1979) added three infancy indicators: congenital malformations, prematurity, and infant birth complications. Other than these their order of presentation and the points considered echo Rubin's:

> Compared with other adults statewide, the Hawaiian-ancestry population also does not fare as well on indicators of health. Data on specific chronic conditions such as cancer, diabetes, gout, high-blood pressure, congenital malformations, prematurity, infant birth complications show that rates for these conditions among those with Hawaiian ancestry are higher than that for the State population. Furthermore, death rates at all ages are higher for the Hawaiians. The East-West Population Institute projects that the life expectancy at birth is shorter by almost a decade for those with Hawaiian ancestry than that for all ethnic groups in the State. (p. 6)

On the issue of cancer a recent account of the Cancer Center of Hawaii's Tenth Anniversary provided the following summary statements regarding their epidemiological work of the past decade:

> —Lung cancer rates for Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians are among the highest in the world and exceed those of all other ethnic groups in Hawaii.
>
> —Although women in general have less chance of developing lung cancer than men, Hawaiian women actually have higher rates of lung cancer than do Japanese, Chinese or Filipino men.
>
> —Both Hawaiians and Japanese have very high rates of stomach cancer.
>
> —Breast cancer is most common among both Hawaiians and Caucasians. It occurs much less among Japanese and Chinese and even less among Filipino women. (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* May 24, 1982)

Social Indicator Data

The Hawaii State Department of Health occasionally uses data gathered in its Health Surveillance Program as a means of studying the health, demographic, and socioeconomic characteristics of the population of the State. Burch (1978), a study of ethnicity and health in Hawaii for 1975, is an example of the type of work that has periodically been completed. In brief, rates per 1,000 population for eleven key health indices were computed for each of the five major ethnic groups in Hawaii (Caucasian, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian, and Japanese) and for a sixth "Others" group. The data presented in Table 22 shows the highest and second highest ethnic groups in terms of incidence for each of the 11 health indices. Hawaiians clearly appear more regularly than any other group, a point Burch noted in his concluding statement:

> The Hawaiian/part-Hawaiian ethnic group had the highest or next highest rate for all health indices studies except for tuberculosis and cerebrovascular disease, and the Caucasians had the highest or next highest rate for all health indices

except diabetes, tuberculosis, hypertension and cerebrovascular disease. In contradistinction, the Chinese had the lowest or next to the lowest rate in seven of the eleven health indices and the highest only in cerebrovascular disease. The Japanese had next to the highest rates in diabetes, tuberculosis and hypertension, and the third highest in individuals with one or more chronic conditions, but in all else they were lowest or next to the lowest. Filipinos had the highest rate of tuberculosis and the lowest rate of arthritis and rheumatism. In all other categories, their rates were intermediate . . . The comparative health, from best to poorest, of the ethnic groups studied based on the summations of the rankings were: Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Caucasian, and Hawaiian/part-Hawaiian. (Burch 1978, p. 2)

this decline occurred between 1970 and 1980.

However, in the midst of this downward trend it can be noted that Hawaii dramatically changed its relative standing between 1968 and 1978. That is, from a rank of 50th in the U.S. with the lowest mortality rate due to coronary heart disease (for total population aged 35-75) Hawaii moved to 18th, well into the middle of the pack with respect to this undesireable indicator. This degree of change in relative standing appears to be the largest of any state in the country for the time period considered.

Perhaps even more striking than the incidence rates for major health indicators are the estimated life expectancies at birth of major ethnic groups in Hawaii. Schwitters (1981) offered the data presented in Table 23, which in turn were drawn from Gardner (1980). It can be seen that Hawaiians have gradually been closing the gap between themselves and the four other major ethnic groups; however, a

TABLE 22

Rate Per 1000 of the Top Two Ethnic Groups for Various Health Indices, 1974-1976[1]

	1. Highest Case Rate		2. Second Highest Case Rate	
Major Health Indices	**Ethnic Group**	**Rate Per 1000**	**Ethnic Group**	**Rate Per 1000**
One or more Chronic conditions	Other	679.5	Hawaiian	374.9
One or more bed days	Hawaiian	82.7	Caucasian	81.0
One or more Hospital nights	Caucasian	82.1	Hawaiian	73.0
Back impairment	Hawaiian	43.0	Caucasian	38.8
Visual impairment	Caucasian	13.2	Hawaiian	12.5
Arthritics/Rheumatism	Caucasian	39.4	Hawaiian	27.7
Diabetes	Hawaiian	33.7	Other	27.0
Tuberculosis	Filipino	7.2	Hawaiian	2.0
Heart Disease	Other	21.1	Hawaiian	19.7
Hypertension	Hawaiian	71.8	Caucasian	49.0
Cerebrovascular Disease	Chinese	5.2	Other	3.4

[1] Ethnic groups included five major local groups: Caucasian, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian, and Japanese, as well as a catch-all "Others" group.

Source: Burch, 1978, pp. 1-6.

Of the rates shown in Table 22 one of the most marked contrasts between the highest and second highest rates of occurrence was for hypertension. Hawaiians substantially outpaced second place Caucasians. This, along with the figures for heart disease, may be of particular interest in light of recent reports on the decline in the U. S. in mortality due to heart disease. Specifically, Levy and Moskowitz (1982) recently reported findings which show a 30 percent decline in mortality due to heart disease during the past 30 years. Moreover, they noted that over 60 percent of

sizeable gap remains with Hawaiians having the lowest life expectancy of any of the major groups in the State. The only exception was in 1920 when Filipinos fell below Hawaiians. This alignment had changed by 1930, though, and since then Hawaiians have consistently shown the lowest life expectancy.

Finally, a very recent study of mortality rates among Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians showed remarkable differences in death rates between the two groups (Look, 1982). In general, it was found that part-Hawaiians were by-and-large very comparable with state

TABLE 23

Estimated Life Expectancy at Birth by Ethnicity, 1910 - 1970

	Caucasian	Chinese	Filipino	Hawaiian Part-Hawaiian	Japanese	Other[1]	Total	Range[2]
1910	52.90	56.36	N/A	30.28	49.09	10.59	43.61	26.08
1920	57.02	54.75	32.95	35.03	51.22	28.95	46.91	24.07
1930	62.39	59.60	49.88	42.92	59.89	35.40	54.82	19.47
1940	64.91	65.05	62.92	52.35	67.46	53.99	62.84	15.11
1950	69.64	69.82	69.74	62.64	72.57	67.63	69.63	9.93
1960	72.78	73.83	71.64	64.94	75.55	62.72	72.32	10.61
1970	73.19	76.10	71.79	67.46	77.30	76.88	73.97	9.84
Male	70.68	74.78	70.21	65.05	75.71	75.25	72.03	10.66
Female	76.04	77.60	75.54	69.91	78.93	78.39	76.37	9.02

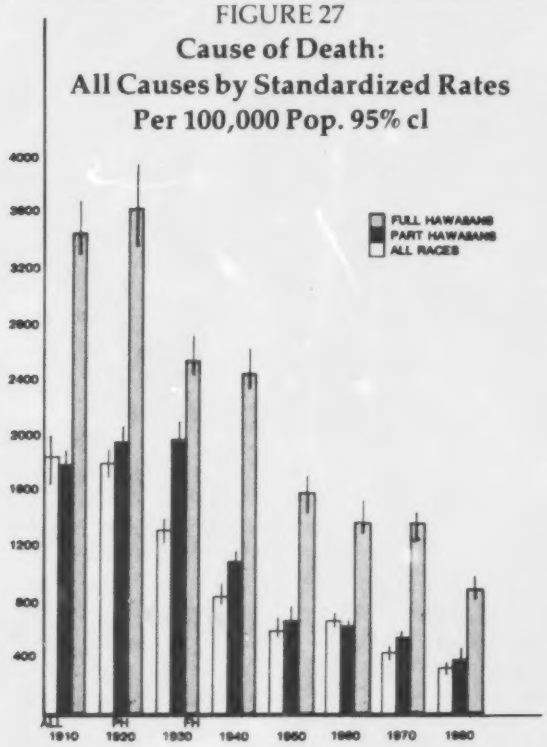
[1] The 1910 tables for all ethnicities and the "Other" tables for all years should be viewed skeptically.

[2] Highest minus lowest expectancy; excludes "Other."

Source: Gardner, 1980, no 9, pp. 221-226. Cited in Schwitters, 1981.

FIGURE 27

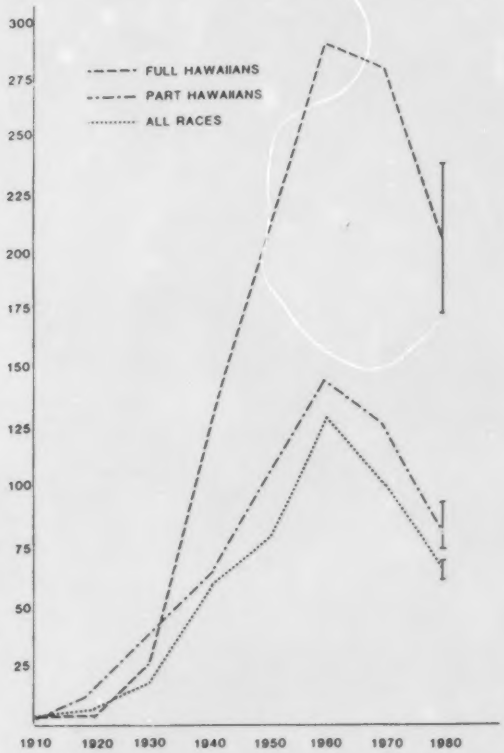
Cause of Death:
All Causes by Standardized Rates Per 100,000 Pop. 95% cl



Source: *LOOK*, 1982, p. 8.

FIGURE 28

Cause of Death:
Arteriosclerotic Heart Disease by Standardized Rates Per 100,000 Pop.



Source: *LOOK*, 1982, p. 14.

totals overall, while rates for Hawaiians were substantially higher in almost all cases. Figure 27 shows the extent of these differences across 20th century census years for all causes of death combined. It can be seen that Hawaiians have been dying at substantially higher rates per 100,000 population than part-Hawaiians or than residents of the state as a whole.

In recent years, death rate discrepancies have been most notable for diseases which have become the leading causes of death as other causes (e.g., pneumonia) have declined in significance due to medical and health care advances. These continuing threats to life include: arteriosclerotic heart disease, hyper-

tensive heart disease, cancer, and diabetes mellitus—as well as death due to accidents. Figure 28 shows death rates for the three groups considered in the study with respect to one of these conditions, arteriosclerotic heart disease. Since the graph displayed is exemplary of others in the report, it appears that health may be a much more significant problem for full-Hawaiians than for part-Hawaiians. Indeed, the differences between the two subgroups are so marked that it seems probable that merging Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians in analyses of health conditions may result in an overly negative picture for the latter.

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: Physical Health

Condition 2: Maternal-Child Health Indicators

Condition Summary

Health statistics show disproportionately high rates of less than optimal prenatal care, illegitimate births, teenage pregnancy and births, congenital anomalies, and infant deaths.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Special programming and support services for expectant teens and very young mothers.
- Family life education or education for parenting programs.
- Preventive health education in the area of childbearing and childrearing.

Testimony

While all maternal-child health indicators are central to planning educational services for families with very young children (e.g., birth - 3 years), teenage pregnancy and birth statistics, in the wake of recent national attention regarding this "epidemic," tend to grab most headlines.

In Hawaii the issue of teenage pregnancy tends to be somewhat sensitive due to cultural differences between various ethnic groups in their acceptance of out-of-wedlock births to young, school-age couples. For example, Klum (1982) recently reported on the work of Marta Levitt-Merin, an anthropologist and coordinator of the Teen Pregnancy Project in Honolulu, as follows:

> Teenage pregnancy in Hawaii is a social problem with cultural overtones.
>
> Its occurrence in higher rates among some ethnic groups is the subject of a report prepared recently for the Office of Hawaiian Affairs by a federally funded program trying to reduce unwanted pregnancies . . . Levitt-Merin said teenage pregnancy is 'more unacceptable' among the families and peers of Caucasian and Oriental girls than among the other groups. She said there is more pressure on Caucasian and Oriental girls not to carry their pregnancies to term, which explains why they are much more likely to have abortions than girls in the Pacific island ethnic groups.
>
> Hawaiian, Samoan and Filipino families do not encourage their teenagers to get pregnant, Levitt-Merin said, but they tend to be more understanding if pregnancy occurs.
>
> 'Once the girl is pregnant, they will accept the baby into their homes,' she said.
>
> But the recent rise in the abortion rate for teenagers of Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian extraction indicates that more girls in the group are finding abortion an acceptable way of dealing with unwanted pregnancy, she said. (Klum, 1982)

Regardless of changing attitudes which may or may not be occuring among young Hawaiian women, the problem of teenage pregnancy and birth is one that tends to be viewed very differently as a function of one's point of view. The medical profession, for example, is explicit in its view that pregnancy and birth at a young age is undesirable. For instance, key medical personnel from Kapiolani/Children's Medical Center in Honolulu recently offered the following comments on the issue of teenage pregnancy in memoranda sent to the March of Dimes in support of a Teen Intervention Program (March of Dimes, 1982):

> Teenage pregnancy is a major problem in our state. Although they are only 15-20% of all deliveries, they constitute a much higher percentage of pregnancy complications, prematurity and other defects. They constitute one of the highest risk groups of patients in obstetrics . . . (Ralph W. Hale, M. D.; Chief Department of Ob-Gyn, KCMC)

Kapiolani Hospital is the only civilian tertiary care facility in the state. As a result, we see many of the complications of pregnancy. One of the major contributors to these complications is teenage pregnancy. These patients have the highest percentage of complications for any age group in our hospital. These patients are also the most difficult for the physician to treat. They frequently ignore the physicians' advice and thus incur unnecessary complications which result in premature or damaged infants. . . (George Shimomura, M. D.; Chief of Staff, KCMC)

Any reduction in teenage pregnancies serves to reduce the possibility of high risk pregnancies which can increase the prenatal and hospital costs from $1,300.00 (for a normal pregnancy), to as much as $25,000 . . . (James B. MacMillan, III, M. D., Medical Director, KCMC Adult Outpatient Clinic)

This unequivocal stance contrasts with perspectives on the part of teenagers themselves, who apparently are much more intentional about getting pregnant than one might expect. This point was brought out in Klum's (1982) summary of a report on teenage pregnancy in Hawaii:

> But most teenage pregnancies are intentional—or at least not wholly accidental—according to Levitt-Merin. She said teen pregnancies tend to be a symptom of much deeper problems in the family.
>
> Some teenagers don't use contraceptives to add an element of 'risk-taking' to their sexual relations, she said. Some girls try to get pregnant to create a stronger bond between themselves and their boyfriends. Still others have children because they are looking for someone to love and think a baby would fill that need.
>
> Many girls who get pregnant, Levitt-Merin said, do so in an effort to get their parents to 'listen' to them—to get some attention from their families.
>
> 'The sad thing is, the parents do listen,' she said. 'They listen afterward.'
>
> Levitt-Merin said getting parents to listen to their children would do much to help curb teenage pregnancies, perhaps as much as contraceptive information and sex education programs.

A similar discovery was made by The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate's Kupulani project when a videotaped roundtable discussion involving six teenage, Hawaiian mothers revealed that they tended to view pregnancy and motherhood while in high school as a positive, desirable event—something that other young women might be hoping for—rather than as a mistake or a problem. (Kupulani, 1979).

Whether pregnancy and birth at a young age is a meaningful and important dimension of Hawaiian culture, and hence might be considered worthy of preservation and special support, remains an open question for Hawaiians themselves to decide. In the meantime educators are faced with the reality that many young women who get pregnant do not finish their high school educations; plus, there is increasing indication that women who start families early may be more likely to have children who experience problems in their early schooling years (e.g., Kellam, Adams, Brown, & Ensminger, **in press**; Kellam, Ensminger, & Turner, 1977). These realities both have implications for educators: on the one hand young mothers may be in need of specialized education that enables them to complete their schooling if they so desire; while their infants might be considered to be in special need of early childhood education in the years prior to entry into the formal educational system (e.g., birth - 5 years).

Social Indicator Data

Evaluation of maternal and child health happens to be one of the areas in which numerous social indicators have gained widespread acceptance. For example the following newspaper summary shows the type of information that can be presented to the public for their consideration. Clearly, the intent of such an analysis is to determine the extent of a "problem." In this instance it would appear that Hawaiians present a significant social problem by virtue of their comparatively high rates of teenage pregnancy. This may or may not be the case. In the meantime this summary of social indicator information serves as introduction to the types of analyses possible using vital statistics information.

> According to data collected by the department [of Health], the Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian ethnic group has the

highest teenage pregnancy rate — followed closely by the Samoan and Filipino groups. The levels are double the rate for Caucasians and triple the rates for Japanese and Chinese.

The rates for the 15-to-17 age group, in pregnancies per 1,000, are: Hawaiians/part-Hawaiians, 78.2; Samoans, 74.2; Filipinos, 71.2; Caucasians, 37.0; Japanese, 24.6; and Chinese, 23.7.

Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian girls represent 18.9 percent of the overall population in the 15-to-17 age group. But they produce 34.1 percent of the pregnancies and 44.3 percent of the births in that age category. (Klum, 1982)

The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate recently made extensive use of vital statistics data in carrying out a needs assessment with respect to Hawaiian children from birth to age three (Office of Program Evaluation and Planning, 1980, Report No. 80-81:26). In brief, this study reported that the most convenient indices to use in defining educational need for very young children were three areas of maternal and child health: teenage pregnancy, prenatal care, and birth outcomes; along with information about child abuse and neglect. Since the analyses in this report are of the same type included in this study we are reprinting the sections of our earlier report which deal with the three maternal and child health indicators, an analysis of risk factor interrelationships at the community level, the summary and conclusions from the report, and a final summary of needs, goals, and "most-in-need" groups.

RISK FACTORS

I. The Teenage Pregnancy Factor

The first **risk area** concerns early pregnancy. There is an extensive literature on the reasons for teenage pregnancy and the effects of the phenomenon on both the mother and the baby. (For a recent review, see Bolton, Frank G., *The Pregnant Adolescent: Problems of Premature Parenthood.* Beverly Hills: Sage, 1980) The nation as a whole has been experiencing an increase in younger pregnancies, partly because of the increase in numbers of adolescents, but partly due to a complex set of socio-psychological factors which are only dimly understood by researchers (Chilman, 1979).

The correlational risk factors are clear; there is a higher association of young pregnancy with the following kinds of negative outcomes for the baby:

- Higher rates of infant mortality;
- Higher rates of birth defects;
- Higher rates of mental retardation and reduced intelligence;
- Higher rates of prematurity and low birthweights (Bolton, 1980).

For the young parent, too, the risks to optimal development are clear:

- Reduced chances of finishing school (Ewer and Gibbs, 1976);
- More dependency on social welfare and public assistance;
- Higher rates of early marriage and separation and divorce;
- Lower earnings from employment (Chilman, 1979).

It is important to note that negative outcomes are intimately connected to what may be the causal determinants of the phenomenon. Early pregnancies have been found to occur more frequently in women who are **already** experiencing negative outcomes in their own lives: familial stress, educational problems, low income, poor nutritional habits. In other words, it is a cyclical kind of thing with no one set of simple causes.

Two recent studies of adolescent fertility in Hawaii found much the same patterns here and indicated that the risk factors were particularly severe for Hawaiians. One, a study of unintended pregnancy in the Windward District (Yates, 1980) included the following findings:

- 29.9% of the high school students have had sexual intercourse; 66.7% have not.
- 9.2% of the intermediate school students have had sexual intercourse; 89.2% have not.
- 31% of the sexually active students have had sexual intercourse by age 14.
- 3% of the sexually active population said they wanted a baby at this time, but 65% never use birth control.
- 77% of the reported pregnancies in the Windward District may be said to be unintended.

TABLE 24

Number and Percentage of Hawaiian Mothers in 11 - 19 Year Old Age Range, 1974 - 1978

Year	Total # Live Births	Live Births To Mothers 11-19	Percent	Total # Live Births To Hawaiian Mothers	Live Births to Hawaiian Mothers 11-19	Percent	Hawaiian % of Live Births To Mothers 11-19
1978	16,717	2,090	12.5	3,630	810	22.3	38.8
1977	16,874	2,159	12.8	3,667	770	21.0	35.7
1976	16,292	2,205	13.5	3,465	803	23.2	36.4
1975	15,689	2,228	14.2	3,302	793	24.0	35.6
1974	15,472	2,276	14.7	3,262	772	23.7	33.9

Surveying statistics from 1968-1972, another study (Stringfellow, Wooton, Hustace, Burch, Reyes, and Colby, 1978) found that the highest rate of pregnancies among adolescents aged 11-19 was among the Hawaiian group (34.0%). The trend was even more pronounced among the very young, 11-14: 58 births, or 46.0%. The study also reported that Hawaiians had the highest number of premature births and the second highest rate of infant deaths.

Table 24 shows that for each of the years 1974-1978 the percentage of young (11-19 year old) mothers giving birth was higher for Hawaiians than is their percentage in the general population. In one representative year, 1976, the percentage of Hawaiian young women ages 10-19 in the general population was 25.8%. While a larger number than the overall 17.7%, it is still below the percentage of mothers giving birth at an early age.

This trend is even more marked for the **very** young group, 11-14 years old. Table 25 shows that most of these births have been to Hawaiian women during the 1974-1978 period.

TABLE 25

Number and Percentage of Hawaiian Mothers in 11 - 14 Age Group, 1974 - 1978

Year	Total # Live Births To Mothers 11-14 Yrs. Old	# Live Births To Hawaiian Mothers 11-14	Hawaiian % of Live Births To Mothers 11-14
1978	20	14	70.0
1977	20	11	55.0
1976	16	8	50.0
1975	34	22	64.7
1974	26	10	38.5

Table 26 demonstrates how high the percentage of illegitimate births has been to young Hawaiian mothers in the 1974-1978 period. Approximately **half** of all the illegitimate births to women 11-19 years old were to Hawaiian mothers.

TABLE 26

Number and Percentage of Illegitimate Births to Hawaiian Women in 11-19 Age Group, 1974 - 1978

Year	Total # Illegitimate Births To Women 11-19	#Illegitimate Births To Hawaiian Women 11-19	Hawaiian % of Illegitimate Births To Women 11-19
1978	996	516	51.8
1977	981	469	47.8
1976	869	444	51.1
1975	848	441	52.0
1974	772	397	51.4

Some have argued that legitimacy in and of itself should not be considered a risk factor in the Hawaiian community since birth out of wedlock is more culturally acceptable (Cohn, 1980; Gallimore and Howard, 1968). When combined with teenage pregnancy, however, illegitimacy at the least implies a strained *'ohana*.

In conclusion, in terms of both age of mother and the legitimacy factor, indications are that some Hawaiian young women are at risk, and that this has been a stable trend over time. It shows no signs of changing. There were an average of 439 illegitimate births to Hawaiian teenage women during the five-year period 1974-1978. An average of 13 births each year were to Hawaiian girls 11-14 years old. The other risk factors which might be ex-

pected to go along with this trend will be considered separately in the following sections.

II. The Prenatal Care Factor

Another general area of risk is in prenatal care. During pregnancy the mother must provide the entire environment in which the developing baby will grow. What the pregnant woman eats, drinks, and smokes, as well as how she cares for herself physically and mentally, play an important role in prenatal development. Many of the risks of this period are of an individualistic, interactive sort (Kopp and Parmelee, 1979). That is, complex factors involving the vulnerability of the stage of fetal development, maternal genetic factors, and the type of disruptive events make it difficult to determine if there are universal dangers. Certain women are apparently more susceptible to toxemia, for example, and must restrict their diet. What this implies is that regular, thorough medical attention beginning early in pregnancy is the best bet for reducing individual risk. Early, regular medical care has become the theme for the March of Dimes in its national campaign, and there is evidence that intervention programs do effectuate positive outcomes as determined by state of health of mother and baby at birth (Wexler, 1979).

As shown in Table 27, a disproportionately large percentage of Hawaiian women report receiving no prenatal care at all. From 27.1% to 35.3% of mothers not receiving prenatal care have been Hawaiian mothers.

In addition, a smaller than proportionate percentage of Hawaiian women giving birth in these years began receiving prenatal care in the first three months of pregnancy, when medical attention is of key importance (Table 28). These profiles indicate that there is much room for improvement: that many Hawaiian mothers are not receiving adequate and easily accessible care.

TABLE 27

Number and Percentage of Hawaiian Mothers Receiving No Prenatal Care, 1974 - 1978

Year	Total # Live Births	# Mothers Receiving No Prenatal Care	Percent	Total # Births To Hawaiian Mothers	# Hawaiian Mothers Receiving No Prenatal Care	Percent	Hawaiian % of Mothers Receiving No Prenatal Care
1978	16,717	201	1.2	3,630	71	2.0	35.3
1977	16,874	244	1.4	3,667	71	1.9	29.9
1976	16,292	162	1.0	3,465	45	1.3	27.8
1975*	15,689	620	4.0	3,302	182	5.5	29.4
1974*	15,472	543	3.5	3,262	147	4.5	27.1

*Data for 1974 and 1975 lumped "no prenatal care" with "no answer recorded."

TABLE 28

Number and Percentage of Hawaiian Mothers Receiving Prenatal Care Late, e.g., After First 3 Months, 1974 - 1978

	Total # Live Births	# Mothers Receiving Prenatal Care After 1st 3 Mos.	Percent	# Live Births Hawaiian Mothers	# Hawaiian Mothers Receiving Prenatal Care After 1st 3 Mos.	Percent	Hawaiian % of Mothers Receiving Prenatal Care After 1st 3 Mos.
1978	16,717	4,741	28.4	3,630	1,317	36.3	27.8
1977	16,874	5,024	29.8	3,667	1,352	36.9	26.9
1976	16,292	4,824	29.6	3,465	1,285	37.1	26.6
1975	15,689	5,035	32.1	3,302	1,355	41.0	26.9
1974	15,472	4,757	30.7	3,262	1,323	40.6	27.8

The last stage during which prenatal care is available is labor and delivery. While it has become increasingly popular in recent years to plan for birth at home, by far the majority of births are in hospitals, where prompt medical attention is at hand for emergencies. Table 29 shows that Hawaiian babies are **not** disproportionately being born away from trained care (including physicians and midwives). The low percentages of Hawaiian babies born with no attendant is apparently due to the overwhelming majority of such babies coming from the Caucasian group. It is interesting to note, however, that in the years of the study the percentages of unattended Hawaiian births has increased while that of the Caucasian group has not.

TABLE 29

Number and Percentage of Hawaiian Babies Being Born Without Medical or Other Attendant, 1974-1978

Year	Total # Births With No Attendant	No. Hawaiian Births With No Attendant	Percent	No. Caucasian Births With No Attendant	Percent
1978	153	18	11.8	108	70.6
1977	147	24	16.3	103	70.1
1976	126	11	8.7	96	76.2
1975	86	6	7.0	64	74.4
1974	77	3	3.9	66	85.7

III. The Birth Indicators Factors

The events of birth itself give the "outside" world the first chance to assess the health and status of the new baby. Certain of these events are considered risk indicators, predictive of later developmental problems. Certain others are negative outcomes in themselves. Infant death and congenital malformation are obvious examples of the latter category. Low birthweight, or prematurity, is an example of a condition associated with later problems as well as being the source of immediate distress and need for medical attention (Schwartz and Schwartz, 1977). In fact, prematurity, or low birthweight, has become the center of controversy in an area of the field of bioethics: medical science now has the technology available to save the lives of infants who might at one time have perished. Having saved the life, however, the medical profession has little or no technology available to assist the mother and the family cope with the strains and problems which often accompany prematurity. Premature infants thus may later become the victims of familial stress and even abuse and neglect (Schwartz and Schwartz, 1977).

The Department of Health defines prematurity as birthweight of less than 2,500 grams. Table 10 shows that the rate for low birthweight among Hawaiian babies is higher than for the population as a whole, and that this has been true for all but one year of the study. In addition, Table 10 shows that this trend is even more significant for illegitimate births, a factor also associated with early pregnancy as we have seen in the preceding section.

The types of malformations which are recorded in Department of Health figures include cleft palate and harelip, spina bifida:

TABLE 30

Prematurity (Low Birthweight) by "Race" of Baby 1974-1978

Year	Total # Live Births	Number Premature* Births	Percent	Total # Hawaiian Births	No. Hawaiians Premature Births	Percent	Hawaiian % of Premature Births	No. Illegitimate Premature Births	Percent (All Live Births)	Hawaiian Illegitimate Premature Births	Percent (All Hawaiian Live Births)	Hawaiian % of Illegitimate Premature Births
1978	16,717	1,244	7.4	5,054	400	7.9	32.2	269	1.6	137	2.7	50.9
1977	16,874	1,266	7.5	5,060	388	7.7	30.6	248	1.5	130	2.6	52.4
1976	16,292	1,178	7.2	4,750	339	7.1	28.8	197	1.2	91	1.9	46.2
1975	15,689	1,223	7.8	4,518	362	8.0	29.6	191	1.2	93	2.1	48.7
1974	15,472	1,205	7.8	4,405	397	9.0	32.9	208	1.3	105	2.4	50.5

*Less than 2,500 grams.

meningocele, hydrocephalus, Down's Syndrome, and other malformations of specific body parts. Table 31 traces the history of malformations 1974-1978 by "race" of the mother. Again, the rate is slightly elevated for Hawaiian mothers for all but one year of the study.

Table 32 shows that the rates of infant mortality have been elevated during certain years.

ceptable limits, but these data do provide a baseline.

RISK FACTOR INTERRELATIONSHIP AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

Thus far a series of "risk indicators" have been examined in terms of whether the data indicate a disproportionate representation among the Hawaiian population. This approach gives a "profile" and baseline for evaluation of program outcomes, similar to the kind of profiles produced by the analyses of standardized achievement test scores for school-age children. These data paint a gloomy picture, however, and they by themselves do not define **who** needs **what kind** of program **where**. One important question that these data cannot address is how the different risk factors interrelate, or, even more importantly, what causes them? While the causal question will remain unanswered for some time, until research methods are equal to the task, there are ways to ask about interrelationships of variables.

In a recent Department of Health report (Cohn, 1980), a comparison is made between

TABLE 31

Congenital Malformations by "Race" of Mother, 1974-1978

Years	Total # Live Births	Births With One or More Congenital Malformations	Percent	Birth To Hawaiian Mothers	Births With One or More Congenital Malformations To Hawaiian Mothers	Percent	Hawaiian Mother % of Births With One or More Congenital Malformations
1978	16,717	155	.9	3,630	40	1.1	25.8
1977	16,874	142	.8	3,667	34	.9	23.9
1976	16,292	153	.9	3,465	30	.9	19.6
1975	15,689	161	1.0	3,302	45	1.4	28.0
1974	15,472	221	1.4	3,262	56	1.7	25.3

While not always a disproportionate percentage, the number of infant deaths of Hawaiian babies is the highest of any group, and has been for the five years of the study. This is apparently because the Caucasian and Japanese groups have disproportionately low rates of infant mortality, while Filipino, Puerto Rican, and Samoan have disproportionately higher rates.

In summary, there is cause for concern among the indicators of risk at birth. While not consistently disproportionately high, the chances for premature birth, the chances for congenital malformation, and the chances for infant death are all higher for Hawaiians than they should be. As with other "risk" areas, it is not possible to set an absolute standard or ac-

TABLE 32

Infant Mortality 1974-1978

Year	Total # Births	No. Infant Deaths	Percent	No. Hawaiian Births	No. Hawaiian Infant Deaths	Percent	Hawaiian % of All Infant Deaths
1978	16,717	186	1.1	5,054	70	1.4	37.6
1977	16,874	196	1.2	5,060	62	1.2	31.6
1976	16,292	172	1.1	4,750	55	1.2	32.0
1975	15,689	201	1.3	4,518	56	1.2	27.9
1974	15,472	236	1.5	4,405	77	1.7	32.6

three communities on Oahu with respect to differential fertility. The relevance of this study to the present report is that one of the communities, Waianae, is demographically heavily Hawaiian populated, and is widely regarded as a "Hawaiian place." On the other hand, the other two communities studied, Pearl City and Kailua also have a Hawaiian population. The study looks at how a series of variables interrelate. It is emphasized that this kind of comparison cannot establish causal relationships, only suggest variables that covary.

The thrust of the study was to identify factors which relate to the finding that Waianae has the highest crude birth rate (25.7 births per 1,000 population) of the three communities; next is Pearl City (19.5 per 1,000), and Kailua is lowest (14.8 per 1,000).

Table 33 lists all the variables examined in the study and their relative values. These were compared in the study to the crude birth rate. Thus, it was concluded that there is a **negative** relationship between fertility and level of educational attainment, income, level of professional employment, rate of abortions, and percentage of the population Japanese and Caucasian. There was a **positive** relationship between fertility and household size, rate of illegitimate births, unemployment, and percentage of the population Filipino and Hawaiian. The ethnicity findings are not as clear-cut as they may sound. They are based on lumping together the above groups. When the three communities are examined only in terms of the Hawaiian population, the following nonlinear pattern emerges (See Figure 29):

It may be seen that Kailua, with the lowest crude birth rate, does **not** have the lowest percent Hawaiian population; it has a percent (22.0%) slightly **above** the State average percentage (17.7%).

One explanation offered is that the Hawaiians living in Kailua are a part of a community culture which is different from the other two areas. They may be more successful in the terms of the contemporary society, thus have lower fertility levels.

The higher fertility rate in Waianae is interpreted by the author of the study to reflect the socio-cultural context of the Waianae coast. It is suggested that the value of children in the

TABLE 33
Listing of Values For Variables, Community Study (Cohn, 1980)

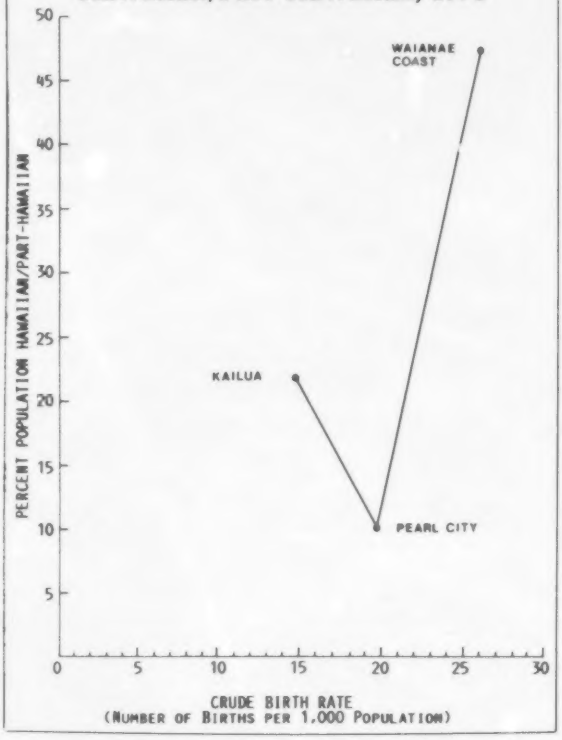
	Hawai'i	Pearl City	Waianae Coast	Kailua
Crude Birth Rate*	18.3	19.5	25.7	14.8
Abortions per 1000 births+	260.3	211.6	133.4	304.3
Illegitimate births (%)*	10.9	6.7	19.3	9.2
Percent population with 8th grade education or less (16+)	11.9	7.5	18.9	4.7
Percent with households with 7 or more	6.0	3.7	16.6	3.5
Percent employed professional	30.8	29.2	20.4	40.8
Percent employed laborer	10.2	12.4	21.9	9.5
Percent employed farmer	1.8	.5	9.7	.4
Population 16+ unemployed	7.5	7.6	11.9	7.2
Percent population Caucasian	27.9	20.6	11.4	49.9
Percent population Chinese	5.6	2.3	.5	2.2
Percent population Filipino	10.2	8.7	11.8	1.7
Percent population Hawaiian (part/Haw'n)	15.3	10.4	47.5	22.0
Percent population mixed/other	9.6	11.9	12.6	6.4
Percent population separated/divorced	3.7	1.6	6.0	3.4
Percent population married	62.4	65.7	58.4	65.0
Percent households below poverty level	10.0	2.2	19.9	7.2
Median income (thousands $)	14.1	18.7	12.6	19.8

* Three-year average from Health Cooperative Statistics System
+1974 State of Hawaii Vital Statistics

Sources: All data from OEO 1975 Census Update Survey Oahu unless noted otherwise.

FIGURE 29

Fertility and Percent Population Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian, 1975



Hawaiian culture makes large families, high fertility, and the attendant variables explainable" . . . the benefits of not having children may really be costs in this cultural context." (p. 19).

In the context of needs assessment, however, the data lend themselves to a different interpretation. There is clearly a complex set of factors operating which make Waianae a community of need. Unfortunately, there is really nothing new in this analysis. There have been countless social action, health service, and educational programs in Waianae since the rough indicators of need became known. Perhaps, if anything, this new study simply points out how little has really changed over this amount of time.

On the positive side, however, the new approach also points out that a community like Kailua, generally considered a middle-class, successful residential area, is, in terms of percentages, perhaps **more representative** of the total Hawaiian population.

Perhaps what this means is that communities, like individuals, have habit patterns acquired over many years which are quite resistant to change. Perhaps what is needed is a change of image: Waianae is not a community in need because it is a Hawaiian place. It is simply a place where a large and identifiable number of Hawaiian families are subject to very severe social system pressures—along with other families who live there. Some handle this stress very well—some do not. What is needed may be a systematic program of community stress reduction. Kailua, on the other hand, may be looked at as a more modal case: again, some families making it, some not, but an overall community pattern of **fostering** upward mobility and effective participation in contemporary society.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It was noted at the outset that, while this report is an attempt to integrate data relevant to the needs of infants, 0-3 years old, there is little information about actual development in this age range available. There are no "standardized test scores" which might indicate relative progress. There are, however, some identified "risk factors" which do relate to the probability of successful development.

Highlights of Findings:

1. There are about 5,000 Hawaiian babies born each year (average 4,750, 1974-1978). These are about one-third of all babies born in the State, the highest percentage of any group.
2. The overall percentage of Hawaiians in the State population is not increasing, however, due to the off-setting effects of in-migration.
3. Most Hawaiian babies (about 70%) are born on Oahu, where they constitute about 25% of all births. Fewer Hawaiian babies are born on the Neighbor Islands, but they are a larger percentage of the population there.
4. Over two-thirds (average 68.3%, 1974-1978) of the Hawaiian babies born have one parent who is not Hawaiian.
5. More young (11-19 year old) Hawaiian women give birth than any other group.
6. More of these births are "illegitimate" than would be expected by population percentages. There were an average of 439 such births each year 1974-1978.

7. More Hawaiian mothers receive no prenatal care or late prenatal care than would be expected.
8. More Hawaiian babies (average 377, 1974-1978) are born with a low birthweight (less than 2,500 grams) than would be expected. The degree of disproportion is greater for "illegitimate" births (average 111, 1974-1978).
9. Findings are less clear for congenital malformations and infant death. While rates were not found to be disproportionately high over the five years of study data, the average was slightly elevated.
10. Confirmed cases of child abuse and neglect are disproportionately high for Hawaiian children. They were the largest number of cases of abuse for all but one year of study data. There were an average of 148 confirmed cases of abuse of Hawaiian children each year, 1975-1979.
11. There is evidence that while certain communities have long-standing social stress patterns associated with risk factors for infancy (Waianae), others with not insignificant numbers of Hawaiian residents (Kailua) are experiencing social successes.

Need Areas

In order to convert the large-scale data contained in this report into some estimates of need which would be useful for preliminary educational planning, a rough derivation was carried out based on the concept of a "most-in-need" group in each of four Need Areas (Table 34). These Need Areas line up with the four "risk factors" discussed in the body of the report.

Derivations of the estimates of "most in need" for Table 34 were made as follows:

I. The general target audience is high school and intermediate school students. Department of Education figures for 1977, projected over several years, indicate totals of approximately 80,000 students in high and intermediate. Hawaiian students comprise approximately 16,000 to 17,000 of this total. Data from a recent study of Windward district students (Yates, 1980) indicates that approximately 30% of high school students and 10% of intermediate school students are currently sexually active. This would mean about 17,000 - 18,000 total students and about 3,000 - 4,000 Hawaiian students. The same study indicates that only 3% actually want to have a baby, but 65% use no form of birth control. This provides us a very rough estimate of about 10,000 - 11,000 total students and about 2,000 - 2,500 Hawaiian students (boys and girls) per year who are at risk of having an unintended pregnancy.

TABLE 34

Need Areas, Goals, and "Most in Need" Groups

Need Area	Goals	Primary Target Audience "Most In Need"	Estimated Numbers, Hawaiian, By Year
I. Pre-Parenting	I. Reduce unintended adolescent pregnancies.	Sexually active high school and intermediate school students who do not want a child but are not using birth control.	2,000 - 2,500
II. Prenatal	II. Decrease risk associated with inadequate prenatal care.	Unmarried, already pregnant high school and intermediate school students.	200
III. Perinatal	III. Reduce family stress associated with risks factors at birth.	Infants identified at birth as "high risk" due to prematurity (by gestation period and birthweight) or other factors and their parents, especially high school and intermediate school students.	100 - 150
IV. Infancy	IV.A. Prevent abuse and neglect. B. Optimize infant development of adaptive skills/behavior.	Low-income, low SES multi-problem families.	4,000 - 5,000

II. The most general target audience here is already pregnant women. There are currently about 16,000 births a year, 3,500 - 4,000 of these to Hawaiian mothers. We know that 2,000 - 2,500 births a year are to mothers aged 11 - 19, and that 800 - 900 of these are to Hawaiian mothers (Table 24). There are about 500 illegitimate births to mothers 11-19 (Table 26), and recent figures from the Department of Health indicate that about 41% of these are to mothers 17 years old or below. This gives us the very rough estimate of 200 illegitimate births to high and intermediate school students per year.

III. These figures come directly from Table 33, which is based on Department of Health data showing an average of 111 illegitimate, low birthweight Hawaiian babies born during the five years of study data, out of an average of 223 total illegitimate low birthweight babies.

IV. There were an average of 4,750 Hawaiian babies born during the five years of study data. This gives an estimate of roughly 14,000 - 15,000 babies currently 0 - 3 years old. The Alu Like Needs Assessment Survey (1976) indicates that 34.1% of Hawaiian families of under 5-year old children are "welfare eligible" by federal (AFDC) guidelines. This gives the very rough estimate of 4,000 - 5,000 families of 0-3 year olds who are likely to have social, economic, or related needs which would affect their baby.

1982 UPDATE

While the above analyses, completed in 1980, focus on defining the extent of specific problems among Hawaiians, it is also of interest to consider such conditions in light of state and national trends.

Table 35 presents the number and percent of births to women under age 18 as determined for a national sample of 31 states and the State of Hawaii. In general, it can be seen that Hawaiians lead all others on this indicator within a state whose overall standing is well below that of the national average shown. In fact, on this particular indicator Hawaiians fall about midway between the national figures for Whites and Non-Whites.

Table 36 offers the same type of tabulation for number and percent of babies of low birth weight. In this area it can be seen that the state as a whole falls slightly above the national average presented, with all groups including Hawaiians falling below the average for Non-Whites nationally. An examination of the within state differences across ethnic group should take into consideration the role of

TABLE 35

Number and Percent of Births to Mothers Under Age 18: National Totals 1979, and State of Hawaii by Ethnic Group Averages, 1975-1979

	Total Number of Births	Number of Births to Mothers Under 18	Percent of Total
NATIONAL TOTAL[1]	2,099,503	125,254	6.0%
Whites	1,631,206	73,917	4.5%
Non-Whites	464,035	51,214	11.0%
Not Reported	4,262	123	2.9%
STATE OF HAWAII[2]	16,536.2	644.2	3.9%
Hawaiian	3,532.2	277.4	7.9%
Samoan	434.8	18.8	4.3%
Filipino	2,866.4	117.0	4.1%
Caucasian	5,266.8	131.4	2.3%
Japanese	2,386.2	43.4	1.8%
Korean	301.8	4.0	1.3%
Chinese	611.4	6.2	1.0%

[1] Totals from 1979 for 31 of 50 States, c.f., March of Dimes Birth Defects Foundation, 1981.

[2] Gannaway et al, 1981, 1975-1979 averages, c.f., Table 6, p. 9.

physical stature: e.g., Japanese and Filipinos as contrasted with Samoans and Caucasians.

Both of the above analyses point up the fact that Hawaiians, who often end up as the "in-need" group within the State of Hawaii, may actually be functioning at a very respectable level with regard to various risk indicators. Specifically, they may often be at about the same level as national Caucasian samples, and well below—that is "better than"—major minority groups such as Blacks and Hispanics. This general trend is one that was repeatedly encountered throughout the needs assessment study (e.g., with respect to High School Graduation rates, see Socio-Economic Status, Condition 5), leading to the specification of "stiff competition" as a culturally-related need condition (see Culturally Related Academic Needs, Barriers in the Dominant Culture, Condition 3).

Social Science Analysis

Lest the conclusion be reached that "all is OK" a study conducted by Schmidt, Onzuka, and Drorbaugh (1979) indicated that specific high-risk groups of Hawaiian mothers do exhibit levels of need that are well above State averages as well as above averages for the Hawaiian group. Table 37, for example, provides an analysis of number and percent of low birth weight babies among Hilo area Hawaiians in three specific "high-risk" groups. Although Maternal and Infant Care Clinic (MIC) clients in these groups did exhibit more favorable birth weight outcomes as a group than non-MIC care Hawaiians, it can be seen that all groups had levels of low birth weight births that approximated or exceeded those of Non-Whites nationally.

A final maternal and child health indicator comes from an investigation of short pregnancy intervals. Burch (1977) conducted a study of examining the incidence and consequences of relatively close spacing of children among Hawaii's ethnic groups. In general, he confirmed that short intervals between births of successive children (i.e., less than 27 weeks between the birth of one child and the conception of the next) does tend to increase the chances of neonatal mortality during the first month of life for the child born after a short pregnancy interval. For Hawaii's ethnic groups Filipinos and Hawaiians showed the greatest incidence of births after short pregnancy intervals (12.9 percent of single births to mothers with at least one prior birth). These were followed by "Others" (11.8%), Caucasians (6.5%), and Japanese (4.6%). Within the Hawaiian group,

TABLE 36

Number and Percent of Low Birth Weight Babies: National Totals, 1979 and State of Hawaii by Ethnic Group Averages, 1975-1979

	Total Number of Births	Number Weighing Less Than 2500 Grams	Percent of Total
NATIONAL TOTAL[1]	2,099,503	148,078	7.1%
Whites	1,631,206	96,440	5.9%
Non-Whites	464,035	51,389	11.1%
Not Reported	4,262	249	5.8%
STATE OF HAWAII[2]	16,536.2	1,239	7.5%
Filipino	2,866.4	278	9.7%
Hawaiian	3,532.2	285	8.1%
Japanese	2,386.2	189	7.9%
Korean	301.8	20	6.6%
Chinese	611.4	37	6.1%
Caucasian	5,266.8	316	6.0%
Samoan	434.8	77	3.9%

[1] Totals from 1979 for 31 of 50 States, c.f., March of Dimes Birth Defects Foundation, 1981.

[2] Gannaway et al, 1981, estimates presented here are based on an assumption that 50 percent of multiple births produce babies weighing less than 2500 grams c.f., Table 6, p. 9.

TABLE 37

Number of Births and Percent Born Weighing Less Than 2500 Grams: USA, State of Hawaii, and Hilo MIC Catchment Area

	Total Number of Births	Percent Weighing 2500 Grams
GROUP		
A. BENCHMARK FIGURES		
USA, 1979[1]	2,099,503	7.1%
USA Whites, 1979	1,631,206	5.9%
USA Non-Whites, 1979	464,035	11.1%
State of Hawaii, 1975-1979[2]	16,536.2	7.5%
Hawaiians Statewide, 1975-1979	3,532.2	8.1%
B. HIGH-RISK HAWAIIANS IN HILO MIC CATCHMENT AREA, 1968-1975[3]		
1. Mothers < 20 years old		
MIC CARE	145	11.9%
No MIC CARE	235	16.9%
2. Mothers < 12 years education		
MIC CARE	160	11.9%
No MIC CARE	287	12.2%
3. Unwed Mothers		
MIC Care	115	10.5%
No MIC Care	171	14.0%

[1] Totals from 1979 for 31 States, c.f., March of Dimes Birth Defects Foundation, 1981.
[2] Gannaway et al., 1981
[3] Schmidt, Onzuka, and Drorbaugh, 1979, Table 7, p. 10.

meanwhile, the occurrence of short pregnancy intervals was negatively correlated with age. For example, those under 25 years of age had a rate of 18.7 percent. This dropped to 9.0 percent for those aged 25-29, 6.1 percent for those 30-34, and 3.7 percent for those 35 and older. The highest mortality rates for those who delivered after a short pregnancy interval was among the Japanese (35.7/1000 births), with "Others" (22.1/1000), Filipinos (17.5/1000), Hawaiians (13.5/1000), and Caucasians (8.5/1000) following in descending order.

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: Physical Health

Condition 3: Nutrition

Condition Summary

Testimony suggests a need for improved knowledge of nutrition and for dietary changes.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Nutrition education programs.
- Home-school educational/lifestyle interventions.

Testimony

From the dominant culture prespective Marion L. Hanlon, M. D. has testified about the need for health education among Hawaiian youth (Bill 916, p. 138, See Condition 5: Health Education in the Schools). A key area in need of intervention in her view stems from a prevailing incidence of "improper nutrition" among Hawaiian school-age youth. Although she was only one voice, and she did admit that her remarks applied primarily to her island of experience, Maui, a within culture point view, that of Kekuni Blaisdell, M. D., largely affirms Hanlon's conclusion. The following excerpt from Dr. Blaisdell's column for *Ka Wai Ola O OHA* suggests how he views inadequate or less-than-optimal nutrition as part of a general health problem among Hawaiians:

Why are we *po'e Hawaii* comparatively less healthy than our fellow non-Hawaiians in our native land?

The reasons fall into three main categories: (1) the genes we have inherited from our *kupuna;* (2) our individual lifestyles with respect to what we choose to eat, our consumption of cigarettes, alcohol and drugs, our personal hygiene and our mental coping with stress; and (3) our environment, such as crowding, public sanitation, automobiling, noise, exposure to harmful chemicals, and catastrophies that may be beyond our individual control, but may be amenable to group action . . .

While our ancestral genes may render us more susceptible to some illnesses, certainly we cannot, and should not, blame them for our self-abuses. Like our fellow island residents, too many of us consume "junk foods," *puhi paka, inu loa,* misuse drugs, hold distressing tensions, lack physical fitness and adequate sleep, and we thoughtlessly disrupt our delicate island ecosystems.

These unwholesome behavioral traits were not characteristic of our noble *kupuna.* They are not traditionally Hawaiian, indeed, they are un-Hawaiian and even anti-Hawaiian.

In Hawaii of old, care of the body, the mind and the spirit were necessary to preserve each individual's *mana.* This also entailed harmonious relationships with others and respect for one's ancestors and for nature—the land, the sea, the water, the air wind—for were they not all manifestations of the gods? How tragically far we have strayed from these precious cultural values of our *kupuna* which promoted their wellness. (*Ka Wai Ola O OHA,* Summer 1982, p. 8)

Social Science Analysis

Nutritional analyses of the diets of Hawaiian youth have been criticized by some local nutrition experts associated with the State of Hawaii Department of Health. One such study was that of K. Howard (1968). Conducted in Nanakuli as part of the ethnographic research under the auspices of Bishop Museum, it offered the following conclusion:

The goal of this study has been to evaluate the adequacy of diet among school children in Nanakuli. The results lend support to those who have subjectively described the diet of the children in the area as inadequate. Indeed, the current study presents evidence that the proportion of children in the study sample who may be seriously undernourished is significantly higher than children from the same socioeconomic stratum on the mainland.

Although the income level of most of the Nanakuli families is relatively low, this alone would not seem to account for the inadequacies reflected in the children's diet. A well-balanced diet is probably within the reach of most families, provided they select their foods judiciously. However, observations over the past two years in the community suggest that much less thought is given to a balanced diet than to quantity and ease of preparation, and that the high proportion of meals missed indicates that irregular eating habits contribute to the problem. Also, local food tastes practically exclude a reasonable consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables.

A good deal of evidence has been accumulating which suggests that prolonged marginal deficiencies, such as those which appear to characterize the diet of Nanakuli school children, contribute to the perpetuation of poverty both by increasing susceptibility to illness and by directly affecting performance capabilities. It would appear, therefore, that any remedial program instituted in Nanakuli, or similar areas, which does not provide for an improved diet, will be severely handicapped in its attempt to break the poverty cycle. (pp. 105-106)

This study represents one position regarding the nutritional status of Hawaiian school age youth. An adequate representation of the opposing point of view will require further literature review work.

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: Physical Health

Condition 4: Health Care System

Condition Summary

Health care is often inadequate due to limited availability of service, cultural incompatility of services, limited family income, lack of basic knowledge, etc.

Potential Educational Interventions

- In-school support services designed to supplement out-of-school health care.
- Interagency collaboration vis-a-vis problems related to health care services.

Testimony

In developing action plans to address specific problems facing Hawaiians today, active Hawaiians convened the Puwalu Conference in 1978. In order to inform the community about the identified priority areas, the proceedings of the Puwalu conference were published. The following problem and proposal statements that were issued suggest that Hawaiians tend to view many of their health problems as unique and that cultural dimensions may be very significant factors affecting health service delivery.

> Problem: The Hawaiian Community faces a wide variety of unique health problems: accessibility of existing services, manner in which services are provided, lack of information on the part of Native Hawaiians and on the part of agencies and departments.
>
> Proposal: That a system of "Hawaiian Health Advocates" be established which would serve three basic functions:
>
> 1. Act as intermediary between the Native Hawaiian Community and health service providers;
> 2. Promote preventative health care;
> 3. Act as advocates for Native Hawaiian health concerns before health service providers, government agencies and other groups.

Social Indicator Data

In general, the health care system available to Hawaiians has long been hardpressed to deal with the diseases and conditions Hawaiians have faced. Widely recognized evidence of this is the rapid and steady decline in the population of pure Hawaiians since the arrival of Captain Cook in 1778. Livesay (1932), for example, laid out the following numbers in the introduction to his educational study:

> It is estimated that the population of the islands was 300,000 at the time of Captain Cook's arrival (1778). In 1823 the number of natives was estimated by the missionaries to be 142,000. The census of 1832 gave 130,000, and by 1853 the total had dropped to 70,000. In 1866, the native population was given as 57,000 and by the census of 1872 it had dropped to less than 50,000. A still further decrease, to 41,000, was recorded by the census of 1890. Beginning in 1900, United States census figures have been available, and, as shown in Table IV, these are as follows: 1900, 29,799; 1910, 26,141; 1920, 23,723; 1930, 22,636. The pure Hawaiian group is thus only 6.1 percent of the present Territorial population. (p. 20)

Among some of the early factors cited were the hardships of engaging in the intensive trade in sandalwood during the early 19th century and the susceptibility of Hawaiians to white men's diseases for which Hawaiians had no immunity (c.f., Livesay, 1932, p. 19). Another point that has been raised is that the Hawaiian medical arts had largely been abandoned due to a lack of disease:

> In very ancient times many people observed the rules of the art of healing *('oihana kahuna lapa'au)*, but in later times most of them abandoned medical practices because there was not much sickness within the race. Foreigners *(malihini)* had not yet come from other lands; there were no fatal diseases *(luku)*, no epidemics *(ahulau)*, no contagious diseases *(ma'i lele)*, no diseases that eat away the body *(ma'i'a'ai)*, no venereal diseases *(ma'i pala a me ke kaokao)*. Therefore, the *kahuna pa'ao'ao* and the *kahuna'ana'ana* were always victorious. *Ho'opi'opi'o* sorcery was a later practice, more than a century later. In the time of Kamehameha I the practices of the *Lonopuha kahunas* were revived. *Kua'ua'u* was a *kahuna* of the order of *Lonopuha*, and he taught this art of healing to the chiefs. That was the beginning of the spread of this medical art, one which was famous in the time of Kamehameha I. (Kamakau, 1964, p. 109)

Whether traditional medical arts would have helped stem the rapid depopulation remains an open question; however, at the same time it is clear that Hawaiians only gradually assimilated Western medical and health practices. For instance, Adams (1937) gave the following opinions regarding Hawaiian death rates over the years up through the 1930's:

> Some of the facts relating to physical traits are known. For example, the death rates of the Hawaiians are exceptionally high, age considered, and those of part-Hawaiians are lower, but above those of whites or Chinese. Probably their intermediate position in respect to death rates is in part a matter of biological heredity. The isolation of the Islands had protected the Hawaiians from several infectious diseases to which they are now exposed. They have not been subjected to the long selective action of such diseases and presumably they are not so well immunized as the peoples who have come. . .the bad conditions under which they live are important. They no longer have the dietetic habits of the olden time and they use the foods made available by modern commerce unwisely. The old Hawaiian theory as to the causes of disease survives, more or less, even to the present day and, because of it, the Hawaiians and, to some extent, the part-Hawaiians, tend to expose themselves needlessly to diseases that are highly fatal to them. For example, the families of lepers often try to conceal the presence of the disease and to keep the afflicted one at home. The physicians and nurses who serve in connection with public health agencies find it hard to persuade tubercular patients to go to the hospital in the early stages of the disease while there is a good prospect for recovery. Hawaiian mothers give their babies very inferior care and in some cases they seem to be afraid to co-operate with the public health agencies. Evidently the high death rates of Hawaiians and the intermediate rates of the part-Hawaiians are in large measure the consequence of bad living conditions and incompetency in the care of infants and the sick. (pp. 247-248)

In spite of the ethnocentric overtones in this passage, the general health statistics on Hawaiians over the years do lend some support to the hypothesis that health care may be an area in which assimilation has been difficult. A relatively recent study of Hawaiians and health care practice was conducted by Heighton (1968) as part of the Community Research Project in Nanakuli.

In brief, Heighton based his conclusions on the results of a survey of 539 Hawaiians in the summer of 1967 and an intensive schedule of interviews with 76 Hawaiians during 1968. Among the outcomes from his work he noted a general reluctance to use Western medical and dental services, a trend more common among men than women. For example, he found that about three-fourths of those involved in his studies did not seem to have preventive health concepts, the majority preferring to wait until medical or dental conditions become serious before they sought medical assistance. He further noted that about 86 percent of the individuals did have medical insurance, but that average family expenditures on health were markedly below mainland averages, regardless of the level of family income. His examination of stress symptoms showed about the same level of stress as a New York sample; however, low-income families living in crowded, run-down housing and women aged 26-36 were identified as two key high-stress groups. Reasons suggested for the general reluctance to use Western medical services included: (1) the concept of disease common in the area, (2) preference among community members to handle disease within a circle of family and friends, and (3) tendency among community members to avoid "confrontation" (seeing a doctor or a dentist being an undesireable "confrontation" situation). Further elaboration on this last hypothesis was offered in his conclusion:

> A major factor which results in Hawaiian people not taking advantage of modern Western medicine is the desire to avoid confrontation. The informants expressed very clearly their views on what they want from physicians, dentists, and nurses. It is difficult for medical personnel who must deal with a great many patients to be personal and warm in their approach to each one, but these people need the relationship between physician and patient to be a personal one. Medical people need to be aware of the cultural

heritage of their Hawaiian patients, which differs in significant ways from that of mainland, middle-class people. Medical specialists need to become sensitive and willing to operate in a bi-cultural situation. They must be willing to listen to a parent say that his infant has *'opu huli* (turned stomach) and then treat it as he sees fit medically and try to explain to the parent how he (the physician) sees the problem. If a patient (or a parent) feels that the physician does not know what he is talking about, the relationship will be broken and the patient will not return. A physician is expected to determine the trouble by himself. The patient feels he should answer in the affirmative any questions put to him. As far as the patient is concerned, he is ill and the burden lies upon the physician to do the healing. It is important not to belittle a patient's belief in old medical practices. Rather, if possible, it is well to praise what is good about the traditional ways, while attempting to show how modern health practices are an improvement. Never must the relationship between patient and physician lead to dispute and confrontation, or the patient may disregard the physician's advice and fail to return. All this building of relationships and individual attention, of course, takes much time and effort and points up the need for a full-fledged medical center and more professionals in the area. Such tactics would probably bear fruit in the form of greatly improved health for the people of Nanakuli. (Heighton, 1968, p. 127)

Regarding educational intervention specifically, Heighton offered the following suggestions:

> Knowledge of health is dependent upon education which is culturally relevant and fits the environment. This education should focus on the children because the adults seem fairly set in their ways.
>
> It should cover the care of eyes, ears, nose, teeth and skin problems. Children need to be helped to examine what they have learned about the community folk-medicine practices and distinguish the beneficial ones from the neutral and the harmful ones; this would be greatly facilitated if teachers learned about Hawaiian cultural practices and beliefs related to health and illness. Encouraging children to follow through on what they learn in school should be stressed. (Heighton, 1968, pp. 126-127)

On the issue of traditional Hawaiian therapeutic practices Heighton (1971) offered a more detailed analysis of test data gathered in Nanakuli. In his earlier report he had noted that three-fourths of the families reported that they knew a family member who had knowledge of traditional Hawaiian medicinal practices, and one-third claimed they knew a person outside their family who specialized in traditional medical practice. In examining the knowledge of Hawaiians regarding Western and Hawaiian health intervention practices he found that those whose knowledge was limited to Western practices did not often make use of the supernatural as part of health/medical treatment. Those who had knowledge of Hawaiian practices, meanwhile, even if they also were well-versed in Western practices, tended to make use of the supernatural more than the Western-oriented individuals. The highest use of the supernatural, though, was in the group who had little knowledge of either Western or Hawaiian health practices.

Finally, an example of work offered from the health practitioner's viewpoint is a report from Kumabe (1971). The point of this article was to note the difficulties involved in gaining the cooperation of low-income Hawaiians in the use of family planning services and in maintaining a program of contraceptive use.

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: Physical Health

Condition 5: Health Education in the Schools

Condition Summary

Testimony suggests that existing health education efforts can be improved.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Health education that effectively addresses student needs.
- Culturally relevant health education.

Testimony

In spite of the frequency with which those who have commented on needs among

Hawaiian people point to health as a key area requiring special programs, little mention was found of a need for educational programs in the schools. One exception to this trend was the testimony of Marion L. Hanlon, M.D., past president of the Hawaii Medical Association and a specialist in adolescent health. She testified as follows:

> . . . we feel that chronic health problems still are quite prevalent among the Native Hawaiian young people and adversely affect the educational process. These are varied and, at least, on Maui, include improper nutrition. We feel that not only must we continue to identify the health defects and even intensify this identification process, but there also needs to be an educational process to teach the Native Hawaiian young people how to properly use medical care available, and also the basic health needs.
>
> This has been a failure in the educational system so far. I believe traditional health educational programs have failed. If this act is to be fully successful, a new practicable and acceptable health education program must be developed that will be attractive to the Native Hawaiians as well as all the young people of our State. (Bill 916, p. 138)

Social Science Analysis

One of The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate's commitments in the area of early childhood education has been the Kupulani Project. Initiated in 1977 after several years of careful study and consideration, this comprehensive preschool intervention program was originally designed to provide families with educational/family support services from the prenatal period through school entry at age five (c.f., Rauch & Hammond, 1977). In providing childbirth preparation for limited number of rural Hawaiian families, the project developed a Prenatal Knowledge Scale designed to test the knowledge level of women who participated in the program. As a means of getting some indication of how the performance of project participants might compare with a wider cross-section of the Hawaiian population, this test was also administered to Kamehameha Schools students who had completed a unit on birth and pregnancy in an "Exploring Childhood" course.

The results of the above research were reported by The Kamehameha Schools/ Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate's Office of Program Evaluation and Planning (1981, No. 81-82:10). While the mean number correct for the *Kupulani* participants (45.3) was slightly higher than that of The Kamehameha Schools students (42.8), the difference was not statistically significant. A further analysis of test performance according to mastery levels established by Kupulani's health professionals is shown in Table 38. It can be seen that only three out of 77 individuals who were tested (3.9 percent) scored at the desired mastery level suggested by the Kupulani health professionals, while about 60 percent scored at a satisfactory level. Clearly, there was a considerable gap between what the health professionals saw as ideal and the performance of a group of rural Hawaiian women enrolled in a specialized childbirth preparation program and a group of competitively selected Hawaiian high school-age youth who have had minimal exposure to topics related to

TABLE 38

Distribution of Kamehameha School Students and Kupulani Mothers Across Three Performance Criterion Levels Established For Kupulani's Prenatal Knowledge Scale

Kupulani Project's Criterion Levels	Kamehameha Schools Students N = 61		Kupulani Mothers N = 16	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Desired Mastery (90% or more correct)	1	2%	2	12%
2. Satisfactory Mastery (75% - 90% Correct)	35	57%	10	63%
3. Unsatisfactory Mastery (< 75% correct)	25	41%	4	25%

pregnancy and childbirth. Perhaps these results indicate that optimal health education of a type intended to prepare families for childbirth is difficult to accomplish both in a rural setting with "high-risk" families as well as in a high school setting in which the curriculum presently provides but a brief overview.

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs
General Need Area: Mental Health
Condition 1: Family Stress

Condition Summary

Testimony, Social Indicator Data, and Social Science Research suggest a breakup of many traditional family practices as well as the existence of conditions that tend to be stressful in today's world. A prime indicator of family stress is a disproportionately high incidence of child abuse and neglect.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Support services (e.g. counseling) for students from families in trouble.
- Preventive family life education, designed to prepare today's students for future roles as parents and homemakers.
- Special home-school programs for families in trouble.
- Interagency collaboration in addressing the needs of "multiple problem" families.

Testimony

While Americans in general have shown increasing alarm at breakdowns in family functioning and togetherness, Hawaiians, too, have been concerned with changes in their traditional family systems. For example, the Alu Like organization, a community based non-profit advocate for Hawaiian social and economic self-sufficiency, has noted the overwhelming impact of the breakdown of the *'Ohana,'* the extended family system, on Hawaiians (e.g., in *E Alu Like Mai Kakou E Na'oiwi O Hawaii*). Others, meanwhile, have focused on the negative impact of disrupted family functioning on educational outcomes. The Liliuokalani Trust (LT), for instance, has been particularly concerned with family life and its implications for adjustment in today's world, as the following comments from LT representatives indicate:

> Every day my staff face the frustrations of assisting children and families to cope with the complexities of modern day society without the basics that only a relevant education can provide. One that provides not only the necessary academics, but also instills a sense of pride and dignity in one's cultural heritage.
>
> Because we are a child welfare agency, we see the impact of multiple losses faced by the Hawaiian people, the social breakdown of the children and families. I cannot stress enough that this breakdown is correlated with the educational needs of our children and adults which can only be met adequately through special assistance.
>
> Our agency has had to develop special programs to meet this need of our children. Often the staff feel disheartened because they know that with our limited funds, we can assist only the tip of the iceberg (Malia Craver, Bill 916, p. 107).

Question: How many years do you think it will be before your department can report the statistics on Hawaiians are pretty much averaged out, or at least no worse than other races?
Answer: I really don't know. By counseling we hope to assist families to become more independent and to make them feel good about themselves. That's what the Liliuokalani Trust is doing right now. They're using some of the old cultural practices to solve family problems by working within the total family, or by bringing in a respected outsider if hostilities are too strong.

It's through the group process of using the family strength, and family know-how to zero in on its own problems. This contrasts with having counselors sit down with the parents, then the kids and then the school people, and so forth.

The family method is a very old method and it works. Liliuokalani Trust tests show that families that use it solve problems a lot faster. Now they are going to try to use the same method with non-Hawaiian families and have a comparison. If this pans out as we hope, then I can say that within five years we

can see some possible drop in welfare loads generally, and in the Hawaiian load (Interview with Myron Thompson, *Honolulu Star Bulletin* August 24, 1972).

Among educators, meanwhile, a range of concerns related to family life such as family dynamics, child abuse, and lifestyle changes have been raised:

> . . . there was a day I remember when I, rather than teaching remedial skills, went into just a rap session. Many of them need this because they are not able to talk it out with their parents, and not being able to have counseling services available to them. I feel, because I'm a mother of six children, and a homemaker, that I can communicate with them (Donna Kapu, Bill 916, p. 144).
>
> There is a lot of unreported child abuse (Henning, 1978a).
>
> Today, we find Hawaiians at a crossroads in struggling to exist as a people. They have lived through various stages of Rule, that of the Ruling Chiefs', Europeans and now the United States of America.
>
> The influence of the Western culture, laws, impacted the Hawaiian lifestyle and practices of the family. In turn, this caused the degeneration of family . . . (Kamahana, NHSC Testimony, 1982).

Social Indicator Data

The 0 - 3 needs assessment conducted by the Office of Program Evaluation and Planning (1980, Report No. 80-81: 26) included an analysis of the extent of child abuse and neglect among Hawaiians as a key indicator of family stress.

Table 39 offers a tabulation of abuse and neglect statistics from 1975 through 1979 for seven different ethnic groups in the State of Hawaii. In general, it can be seen that Hawaiians accounted for nearly one-third of confirmed abuse and neglect cases during the years 1975-1977. More recently, however, this percentage has dropped closer to one-fourth as the incidence of confirmed abuse and neglect cases among racial mixtures other than part-Hawaiian has climbed dramatically. (N.b., authorities insist that there were no definition changes; however, solicitation of ethnicity information does depend upon the interviews of social workers sent to confirm reported cases of abuse and neglect.)

Figure 30 shows graphically how Hawaiians compare to other ethnic groups in the state in terms of the absolute numbers of confirmed child abuse and neglect cases. The marked increase in cases for persons of "mixed" ethnic background (all mixtures excluding part-Hawaiian) is a phenomenon that is still not understood in terms of the underlying factors associated with the steep climb shown. Moreover, it is not known if the decline for Hawaiians represents a downward trend or a dip in a generally rising series.

Social Science Analysis

Several recent reports regarding child abuse and neglect in the State of Hawaii have exam-

TABLE 39

Confirmed Child Abuse and Neglect by Ethnicity of Victim, 1975-1979

Ethnicity of Victims	1975				1976				1977				1978				1979			
	Abuse	%	Neglect	%	Abuse	%	Neglect	%	Abuse	%	Neglect	%	Abuse	%	Neglect	%	Abuse	%	Neglect	%
Hawaiian	70	26.7	47	29.2	142	36.3	68	28.0	171	31.0	95	32.8	199	27.0	84	22.6	160	22.4	69	17.4
Caucasian	66	25.2	60	37.3	78	19.9	80	32.9	137	24.9	94	32.4	168	22.8	104	28.0	150	21.0	131	33.1
Mixed	44	16.8	19	11.8	38	9.7	13	5.3	58	10.5	28	9.7	162	22.0	84	22.6	198	27.8	103	26.0
Samoan	25	9.5	3	1.9	16	4.1	9	3.7	37	6.7	7	2.4	54	7.3	12	3.2	54	7.6	5	1.3
Filipino	14	5.3	15	9.3	33	8.4	17	7.0	49	8.9	15	5.2	43	5.8	18	4.8	45	6.3	28	7.1
Japanese	2	.8	4	2.5	11	2.8	9	3.7	13	2.4	12	4.1	15	2.0	6	1.6	25	3.5	6	1.5
Other	41	15.6	13	8.1	73	18.7	47	19.3	86	15.6	39	13.4	97	13.1	64	17.2	81	11.4	54	13.6
TOTAL	262	100.0	161	100.0	391	100.0	243	100.0	551	100.0	290	100.0	738	100.0	372	100.0	713	100.0	396	100.0

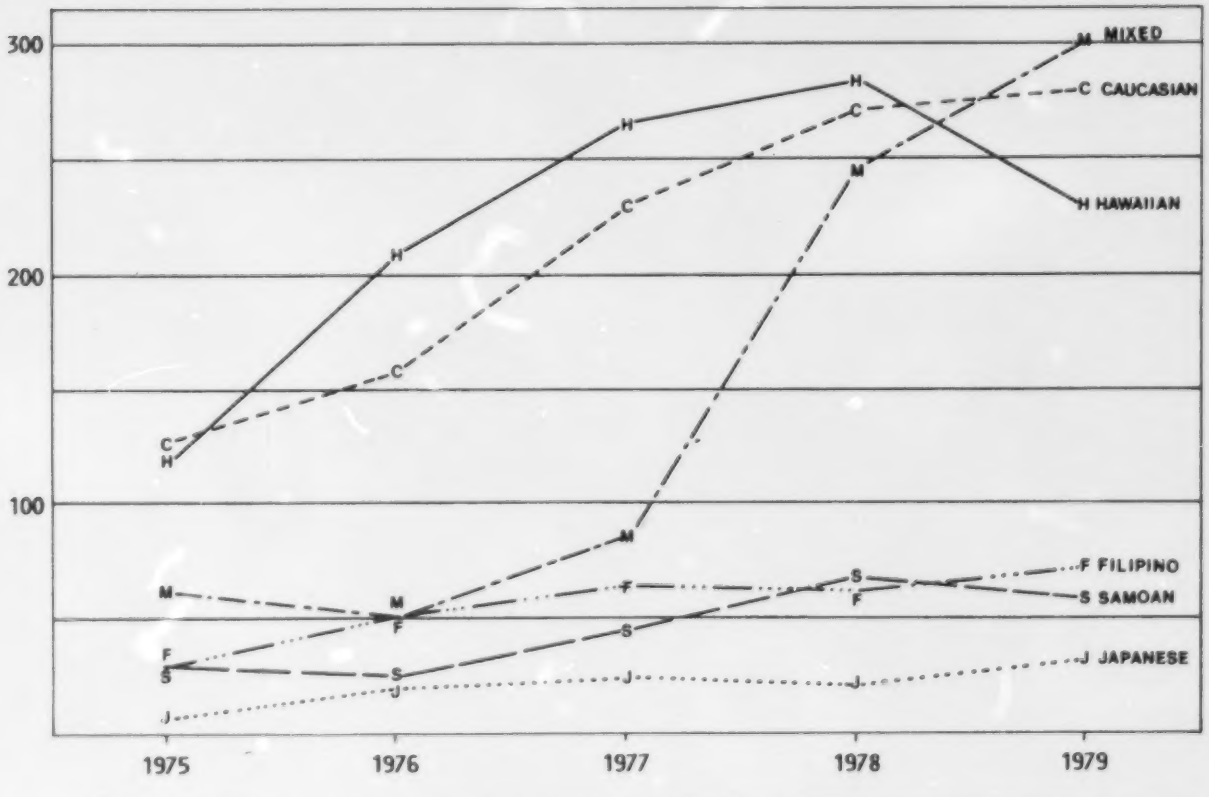
ined rates of occurrence within different ethnic groups. For example, Dubanoski and Snyder (1980) contrasted abuse and neglect among Japanese in Hawaii with that among Samoans, and subsequently, Dubanoski (in press) considered civilian Caucasians and Hawaiians. Table 40 summarizes the general findings of these two reports in terms of the actual occurrence of abuse and neglect over a specific time span as contrasted with the incidence that would be expected on the basis of percentage representation in the general population.

The data in Table 40 reveal that child abuse and neglect, at least as Western society defines it, occurs at an extremely high rate among Samoans living in Hawaii. The percent of expected figures shown may be inflated somewhat due to the fact that the Samoan population is difficult to estimate in terms of its size; nevertheless, it is clear that child management which is reportable and confirmable as child abuse and neglect occurs at a much higher rate per capita among Samoans than among other major ethnic groups in the state.

Hawaiians, meanwhile, show a somewhat higher level of abuse and neglect than might be expected on the basis of their representation in the general population. However, as in the case of some of the physical health areas reviewed under that general need heading, it can be seen that part of the reason Hawaiians may surface as one of the primary "in-need" groups in the area of child abuse and neglect could be due to contrast effects with other groups in the state. In this case, for example, the incidence of abuse and neglect is apparently extremely limited among Japanese as contrasted with other groups.

Dubanoski (in press) also conducted an analysis of the records kept by social workers from confirmation interviews with families who had been reported to Child Protective Services as abusers or neglecters. In most cases social workers recorded what seemed to them to be the key factors associated with the indi-

FIGURE 30
Total Number of Confirmed Abuse and Neglect Cases, 1975-1979



vidual instances of abuse or neglect. For example, Table 41 provides a tabulation of six general types of family stress that social workers found to exist in families in which abuse or neglect occurred. Thus, with Hawaiians "family discord" was considered a factor in 40 percent of the 330 abuse cases that were confirmed, while "insufficient income" was considered a factor in 37 percent of the 161 neglect cases.

Further analysis of social worker confirmation interview records is offered in Table 42. In this case it can be seen that "loss of control" and "lack of tolerance" were personal factors in almost half of the instances of confirmed abuse among Hawaiians. With neglect, meanwhile, a history of abuse was found in 13 percent of the cases. In both the analyses of stress factors as well as those of personal factors it is obvious that more than one factor was included for many families. In short, it is clear that Hawaiian families who become involved in cases of abuse or neglect that eventually get confirmed by the State of Hawaii are by-and-large "multiproblem" families.

Polynesians. Their basic point was that Polynesians do in fact tend to account for a disproportionately high percentage of instances of child abuse and neglect in the communities in which they live. In particular they provided evidence from the Maoris in New Zealand and the Hawaiians in the State of Hawaii. From their viewpoint, given a strong anthropological background, they considered modern day abuse and neglect to be due to a general breakdown in traditional childrearing patterns, a trend attributable largely to Westernization and urbanization.

Specifically, they ventured the opinion that parts of traditional Polynesian social systems still exist today (e.g., sibling caretaking, allowing young children substantial independence, etc.); however, these remnants tend to survive, in many cases (e.g., in urban settings), under conditions in which key elements of the traditional overall child rearing system are missing. The results of a partial preservation of traditional social forms and family systems, they claim, are family stress, depression, and other maladaptive outcomes such as child abuse.

TABLE 40

Incidence of Child Abuse and Neglect in Four Ethnic Groups in Hawaii

		Civilian Caucasians	Hawaiian/ Part Hawaiians	Japanese	Samoan
CONFIRMED CASES OF CHILD ABUSE	Percent of State Population	18.9%	19.4%	27%	.8%
	Total Number of Confirmed Cases in the State	1,498[a]	1,498[a]	942[b]	942[b]
	Expected on Basis of Percent of Total Population	283	291	254	8
	Actual Number of Cases	243	330	39	61
	Percent of Expected	86.0%	113.0%	15%	763.0%
CONFIRMED CASES OF CHILD NEGLECT	Total Number of Confirmed Cases in the State	762[a]	762[a]	533[c]	533[c]
	Expected on Basis of Perccent of Total Population	144	148	144	4
	Actual Number of Cases	243	161	30	19
	Percent of Expected	169.0%	109.0%	21	475.0%

[a]Dubanoski, **in press** for period January 1978 - March 1980.
[b]Dubanoski and Snyder, 1980 for period 1976 - 1977.
[c]Extrapolated; exact figure not provided in the article.

Finally, the issue of abuse as viewed from a cultural standpoint has received some comment recently. For example, Korbin (1981) addressed many of the issues with respect to cultural factors associated with abuse and neglect. As part of this effort Ritchie and Ritchie (1981) analyzed abuse among contemporary

One example used to illustrate their point is that of a child who is left to care for a younger sibling. In a traditional setting adult assistance is generally close at hand, and in most cases is very likely to be a member of the extended family. Thus, should there be an emergency, the sibling has adequate resources on which to

lean. In an urban setting, however, not only is the general environment, including the housing, more dangerous for a young caregiver and his or her charge, but adult assistance from extended family members may be miles away and unavailable in an emergency. The following brief comment summarizes the Ritchies' (1981) proposed educational solution with respect to child abuse:

To us it seems that a strong hope lies in reconstruction. We believe that the Polynesian heritage rests upon Polynesian child rearing. We believe that a conscious and deliberate conservation of that pattern would prevent child abuse. We know of intact New Zealand Maori communities, old enclaves around which wider communities have grown. Within these communities child abuse is as unthinkable as it ever was. The first step in

TABLE 41

Stress Factors Associated with Confirmed Cases of Abuse and Neglect Among Caucasians and Hawaiians, 1978-1980

Number of Confirmed Cases	Caucasians				Hawaiians			
	Abuse 243		Neglect 243		Abuse 330		Neglect 161	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Broken Family	73	30%	98	40%	82	25%	52	32%
Family Discord	72	30%	45	19%	132	40%	31	19%
New Baby/ Continuous Care	44	18%	68	30%	87	26%	54	34%
Recent Relocation/ Social Isolation	41	17%	89	37%	39	12%	28	17%
Insufficient Income	33	14%	44	18%	66	20%	59	37%
Inadequate Housing	10	4%	34	14%	25	8%	19	12%
Unclassified	104	43%	70	29%	98	30%	38	24%
TOTAL*	377		448		529		281	

*Some cases have more than one stress factor; percents do not total 100%.

Source: Dubanoski, in press, p. 22

TABLE 42

Personal Factors Associated with Confirmed Cases of Abuse and Neglect Among Caucasians and Hawaiians, 1978-1980

Number of Confirmed Cases	Caucasians				Hawaiians			
	Abuse 243		Neglect 243		Abuse 330		Neglect 161	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Abuse History	27	11%	12	5%	75	23%	21	13%
Spouse Abuse	30	12%	7	3%	65	20%	15	9%
Normal Discipline	30	12%	11	5%	62	19%	7	4%
Loss of Control	87	36%	9	4%	158	48%	13	8%
Lack of Tolerance	96	40%	15	6%	163	49%	18	11%
Mental Health Problem	52	21%	51	21%	54	16%	17	11%
Alcohol/Drug Dependence	50	21%	48	20%	51	15%	17	11%
Mental Retardation	8	3%	1	< 1%	7	2%	6	4%
Physical Handicap	0	0	13	5%	0	0	11	7%
Police/Court Record	8	3%	11	5%	21	6%	13	8%
TOTAL*	388		178		656		138	

*Some cases have more than one personal factor; percents do not total 100%.

Source: Dubanoski, in press, p. 22.

reconstructing a viable urban equivalent is for Polynesians to recognize the salient features of their child-rearing system so that they know what to protect. Time and again, when we have told Polynesian groups our analysis of the major features of their child-rearing style, they have said yes, that is how their childhood was; they recognize the pattern, they remember how nice it was. But in all the discussion of cultural preservation we have never heard the central role of child rearing acknowledged. Instead, the emphasis is on preservation of language, community ceremonial facilities, traditions, oratory, and song and dance. All these are important, but none of them will prevent disorganization from reaching down into the heart of family relationships (pp. 200 - 201).

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: Mental Health

Condition 2: "Fear of Learning"/ Depression

Condition Summary

Years of subordinate status in their own homeland has apparently affected the personal adjustment of many Hawaiians. For example, observers note "Fear of Learning" as well as other indicators of generalized depression and withdrawal.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Support services for students who experience personal adjustment problems.

Testimony

The concept of "fear of learning" was used in discussions of the problems of Native Hawaiians in 1978 when Hawaiians first sought special educational benefits through a Native Hawaiian Education Act. For example, a newspaper account of Senator Inouye's testimony highlighted this concept:

> . . . He [Inouye] said federal assistance is urgently needed to combat 'fear of learning' among Hawaiian young people.
>
> 'They are all too often reconciled to failure—a failure that they have grown to expect, which they believe is inevitable,' Inouye said.
>
> 'Hawaiian leaders have come to realize that if their people are to ever gain self-determination, this fear of education must first be overcome' (Lammi 1979).

Concerns about "fear of learning" were also expressed by several individuals who testified in hearings for Senate Bill 916. For example, the following came from Hawaiians as well as non-Hawaiians:

> I feel that it [Bill 916] is the most important and critical, and exciting because it has the potential of addressing the basic cause of all of the negative statistics that have been quoted in this meeting and in other reports throughout the years.
>
> It has the potential of addressing the basic cause which is a tremendous fear on the part of too many of us to learn. To learn is to be punished. To learn is to get hurt, and, therefore, we back off. This bill gives us the potential for addressing that issue (Myron Thompson, Bill 916, p. 86).
>
> The current situation described in Senate bill 916—a fear of learning among Native Hawaiians—contrasts strikingly with their accomplishments when they first came in contact with formal schooling. Their high literacy rates then were the envy of other nations. This is an indication that learning itself is highly valued among Hawaiians and that what they fear now is a kind of schooling that has become more and more isolated from Native Hawaiian communities and less and less interlinked with Native Hawaiians' broader social goals (Carol Eblen, Bill 916, p. 131).
>
> I would like to quote from Senator Inouye's letter. Just a very, very important statement that I thought would be good this morning. He says: "If Native Hawaiians as a group are ever to improve their self-esteem and economic opportunities; this fear of failure must first be overcome with the help of programs such as these." And I strongly and wholeheartedly agree with that statement (Donna Kapu, Bill 916, p. 143).

A slightly lengthier account was offered by Byron Cleeland, a Hawaiian language instructor from Kauai. He concluded that dropping

out and a lack of interest in learning seems to extend even to subjects that one would expect to be of high intrinsic interest to Native Hawaiians:

> Of approximately 55 Hawaiians or part Hawaiians who enrolled in my Hawaiian language classes at the community college during the past 4 years, 32 either dropped out without finishing the class or were otherwise unable to satisfactorily complete the course.
>
> Of course, many were disillusioned when they discovered that being part Hawaiian wasn't necessarily much of an advantage when it came to learning to speak a language with which they were more unfamiliar then they realized. But a dropout rate of almost 60 percent is still too high to be ignored.
>
> Also, these figures do not include 30 members of the Kaumualii Hawaiian Civic Club who took the course as a group project in 1976. Although everyone in that class was either Hawaiian or part Hawaiian and had demonstrated an interest in Hawaiian culture by joining the organization, only half of the members stayed in the class long enough to even receive credit.
>
> In my high school Hawaiian language class, approximately half of the students are part-Hawaiian.
>
> Once again, there is a wide variety of abilities. But there are also too many examples of attitudes which Senator Inouye describes as complacency, fear of learning, and reconciliation to failure.
>
> It's understandable when students with below average ability give up when trying to keep pace with more able students, but it is disheartening to see intelligent, capable students make only minimal attempts to put in the time and effort necessary to learn a language which they are truly interested in learning. It is also disheartening to see these same students having no plans for what they will be doing after they graduate from high school (Byron Cleeland, Bill 916, pp. 196-197).

A connection between an apparent "fear of learning" and generalized feelings of inferiority, sadness and depression has been hypothesized to underlie the negative social, economic, and educational statistics of Native Hawaiians. For example, Myron Thompson, Trustee of The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate, recently offered the following analysis in interviews with reporters:

> Based on his experience as a social worker, trustee Thompson said he believes that deeply ingrained feelings of cultural inferiority are partly responsible for Hawaiian children averaging below state and national norms academically.
>
> 'Since (Capt. James) Cook landed, there have been a lot of putdowns for Hawaiians, and you still see the dregs of it today. Where does it get started? At birth. In the family' (*Honolulu Star Bulletin*, May 19, 1982).
>
> 'We Hawaiians are an enigma,' says Myron B. Thompson, . . . 'We are fascinated by our history, though much of it is nightmarish. We are a compassionate people, fiercely proud of our cultural heritage, and we are outraged to see our fragile physical setting—our tropical waters, mountains, air, flora, and fauna—being polluted and trampled to death by civilian in-migrants, whose numbers have tripled in the past decade.' As a result, too many Hawaiians 'have a low self-image,' Thompson adds. 'Too many function in a constant state of depression. This state of mental ill-health results in social failure, delinquency, unemployment, and unrealized potential' (Shaplen, 1982).

Social Science Analysis

In the social science literature the ideas regarding depression expressed by Hawaiian leaders have been discussed in some detail by psychologists and psychiatrists concerned with a phenomenon some call "masked depression." For example, Hollon (1970) offered the following conclusion in his discussion of poor school performance:

> Depression in children has received little attention but it is more common than is generally assumed although it is often masked by other forms of behavior disturbance. A number of children initially referred for psychological testing because of poor school performance were found upon evaluation to be suffering un-

derlying depression which was the true source of their school failure (p. 263).

He also offered the following perspectives on symptomology and intervention:

> . . . features which can be best described as depressive are definitely evident in feelings of inadequacy, feelings of worthlessness, conviction of rejection by others, and guilt, along with helplessness and hopelessness which undermines all effective effort.
>
> Robert Gould (1965) reports that depression among adolescents and children is seen much more often than is generally assumed and he considers it to be much more prevalent than is evidenced from the literature. Typical characteristics of depression described by Gould include loss of interest in one's environment and loss of drive, feelings of sadness and emptiness along with feelings of loneliness, but these may be disguised under surface behavior or as temper tantrums, boredom, restlessness, rebelliousness, hypochondria, preoccupation and running away (p. 258).

He continued:

> Yet it is obvious that where depressive features are the major source of the student's underachievement, viewing his problem as merely one of indolence or daydreaming to be dealt with by educational techniques, tutoring, or exortions to greater efforts will not only be ineffective in improving school performance but will often give way to critical, disapproving and demanding attitudes on the part of adults that will increase the underlying depression. For this reason it is especially important that teachers and parents be able to recognize signs of depression as well as the fact that these can often be camouflaged by other forms of behavior disturbance (p. 259).

The above testimony and social science analysis introduces the notion of stress and depression. Chapter V of this report will discuss this in more detail.

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: Mental Health

Condition 3: Problems in Childrearing

Condition Summary

> Child abuse and neglect, runaways, and Testimonial Data suggest a disproportionately high incidence of problems in childrearing.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Support services or alternative education for youth whose behavior is considered inappropriate.
- Special parent-training programs for families in conflict.
- Comprehensive early childhood education programs during infancy and/or preschool years.

Testimony

Testimony presented for the other conditions under the general need heading "Mental Health" all point to an area of mental health services that is more preventative than remediational. That is, other than the extreme problems found in certain "multiproblem families," the problems of youth whose social behavior is clearly "deviant," and the problems of youth who are unable to adjust socially/behaviorally to the requirements of a school setting, there are the problems that "average" families encounter during the course of childrearing. These are not the types of problems that evoke explicit testimony; however, they can be inferred from the body of material that outlines the "severe" problems within the general purview of mental health. In short, where there is evidence of "fire"—i.e., evidence of substantial mental health needs—it can be assumed that there is also a need for preventative work with families that may be on the verge of a major problem or in the early stages of development with respect to later problems. Thus, all testimony related to other mental health needs also applies to this condition.

Social Indicator Data

Refer to Condition 1: Family Stress for data regarding child abuse and neglect.

Social Science Analysis

Mathews and Ilon (1980) recently conducted a review of the clientele of Hale Kipa, a home for runaways in Honolulu. In presenting their

analyses they outlined some of the unique conditions and restraints associated with this particular social problem in the Hawaiian context. For example, they described the geographic limitations stemming from the fact that Hawaii is an island state, the unique cultural factors at work in many Island families, the diversity of family constellations to be found in Hawaii, and so forth. Their overall conclusion, based on the statistical analyses conducted, was as follows.

> The results clearly indicated that race is a factor in running patterns. While Caucasian runaways are less likely to become chronic runaways than other racial groups in Hawaii, the opposite is true of Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian runaways. A possible explanation of this might be that children from Hawaiian families wait until the situation from which they are running becomes unbearable and perhaps beyond redemption, or, alternatively, it might indicate that the cultural attitudes within the family affect the status of and the behavior toward the potential chronic runaway. It could also mean that the vast network of extended family and friends offers an attractive refuge for the runaway making multiple runs easier. (p. 408)

While Mathews and Ilon found evidence that Hawaiians who use Hale Kipa tend to be chronic runaways, the data they reported showed Hawaiians accounting for only 17 percent of all runaways served by the facility. Given that Hawaiian school-age youth aged 6 - 18 account for about 24 percent of the population within this age range (cf. OEO Census Update Survey, 1975), this appears to be an underrepresentation with respect to their presence in the general school-age population.

In considering this apparent underrepresentation of Hawaiians as clients of the temporary shelter, it does seem—based on general cultural considerations—that Hawaiians who run away from home would most likely rely on family resources rather than on an agency such as Hale Kipa. In fact, having any Hawaiians show up at such a facility may be testimony to the breakdown in the Hawaiian *'ohana* (extended family) system that has been mentioned elsewhere. In any event, one would be inclined to hypothesize that that the runaway problem among Hawaiians would not be accurately gauged by Hale Kipa contact records. In fact, Honolulu Police Department records for juvenile arrests for 1981 (refer to Alienation, Condition 1: Crime and Juvenile Delinquency) show that Hawaiians accounted for 44 percent of the arrests for runaways, the numbers of youth involved being at least twice as high as the numbers arrested for this offense among members of other ethnic groups in the state.

This information about runaways from Hawaiian families serves much the same function as all other mental health data. That is, it serves as an indicator that family problems/problems in childrearing do exist in Hawaiian families, and that there may well be a need for family life education and other preventative educational intervention aimed at families. There has been a trend in the social sciences during the past few years towards development of such programs, and comments from local researchers suggest that they see a need for them. For example, Dubanoski (in press) recently offered the following suggestions in his analysis of child abuse and neglect in Hawaiian families:

> Treatment and prevention programs for Hawaiian - Americans should include certain components important for the specific patterns and determinants of child abuse found in this culture. Skills must be developed to handle family life problems that may have led to family discord and spouse abuse [spouse abuse was found to co-exist in 20 percent of the homes where child abuse was confirmed]. Support services would also be important in which trained personnel can offer help and services to develop effective parent skills (commonly not found in individuals who were abused as children or in people who frequently use physical punishment) and to reduce the burden of continuous child care which was a problem within the Hawaiian-American group. Finally, programs such as relaxation training may be useful since loss of control and lack of tolerance contributed significantly to child maltreatment in this culture. (p. 14)

Indicators of the need for programs of the general sort described here also came from the Office of Program Evaluation and Planning's educational needs assessment on the island of

Molokai (1979, Report No. 78-79: 36). Specifically, one barrier to educational achievement that was identified was: "The generation gap (age gap) interferes with parent/child communication about school life" (p. 44). The recommended intervention in this case was: "Increase structured opportunities for parents/children to communicate about school" (p. 44). In this same general vein, Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan (1974) reported that Hawaiian parents may not apply much pressure in regards to schoolwork, even though they do value education highly—and they seem interested in finding out how they can approach problems of absenteeism and its relationship to failing to finish high school:

> . . . while 91 percent of the adolescents had regular chore responsibilities, 67 percent had been or were employed, only half mentioned they experienced parental pressure for good school performance. Obviously, the lack of pressure—if our data are accurate—does not reflect a lack of interest or appreciation for the benefits of education. Indeed, many parents we met in Pumehana, who knew of our research in the schools, asked specifically for advice on how to encourage attendance and insure graduation. (p. 180)

Finally, the surveys conducted in connection with the recent evaluation of The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate's Extension Education Division revealed that a key area of interest among potential consumers for new program development was "Family Life Education for Teens." This seems to suggest a general perception among Hawaiians that learning about family life and childrearing in school is an important educational need area. Community leaders surveyed, on the other hand, were less enthusiastic about the potential interest in and need for such programs. However, all things considered, family life education directed at school-age adolescents was identified as a new program type with "High Market Potential" (Office of Program Evaluation and Planning, 1981, Report No. 80-81: 52).

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: Mental Health

Condition 4: Problematic Social Behavior

Condition Summary

A disproportionately high use of Mental Health Services indicates an apparently high incidence of psychological and mental health problems.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Support services for youth with mental health problems.
- Preventive mental health programs designed to reduce the future incidence of such problems.
- Special home-school programs for families in which mental health problems interfere with educational activities.
- Interagency collaboration in addressing special family needs.

Testimony

While the general trend among Hawaiians in the area of use of health services tends to be towards underutilization, testimony from Dr. Denis Mee-Lee, Chief of the Mental Health Division, State of Hawaii Department of Health, indicates that this is apparently not the case with respect to mental health services:

> We have been concerned that a good number, in fact, a larger proportion of Hawaiian people and children have been seeking mental health services on a per capita basis than other ethnic groups. I think this again speaks, along with other data that has been presented, that there are a good number of social emotional need problem areas that have not been attended to in the educational system or other aspects of our society. (Bill 916, p. 135)

Other than this testimony there was little commentary directed specifically at the area of mental health. Of course, many of the problems that might ordinarily be discussed here such as juvenile delinquency, substance abuse, truancy, school achievement problems, school adjustment problems, etc. are covered in other parts of this report.

The issue of sexual preferences did come out in a needs assessment Henning (1978c) conducted on Molokai. Specifically, she noted that, "There are about nine male and six female homosexual students at the high school all of whom are Hawaiian. Their behavior has

caused some problems for them and among the student body." With Molokai High School having an enrollment of 721, 15 homosexuals whose sexual preferences have created social problems amounts to about 2 percent of the student body. Certainly this seems to be an unusually high percentage, apparently indicative of a presumably localized problem.

Social Indicator Data

A preliminary review of the knowledge base regarding Native Hawaiians and their use of mental health services suggests that this has not been a particularly popular topic for investigation. In general, the information found tended to be somewhat dated, and with little emphasis among the Hawaiian organizations on analysis of mental health social indicator data. The Alu Like Needs Assessment (1976), for example, did not include mental health statistics, and their ongoing work in needs assessment has not included anything on mental health services per se.

The most recent study reviewed came from Mebane, Kamahele, and Carpenter (1976). They did a three month analysis of admissions to the Hilo Counseling Center in the Fall of 1974. Table 43 provides selected data from their report, along with the admission rates to the State Hospital from Gudeman 1967a. It can be seen that Caucasians were overrepresented as clients at the Hilo center, while Japanese were underrepresented. Hawaiians, meanwhile, were served in proportion to their representation in the population of the area.

Overall, this appears to be an area in which further investigation is needed.

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs
General Need Area: Mental Health
Condition 5: School Behavior Problems

TABLE 43

Admissions at Hawaii State Hospital and Hilo Counseling Center By Ethnic Group

Ethnic Group	Hawaii State Hospital[1] % of Total Admissions	Hilo Counseling Center September-November 1974 % of Big Island Population	% of Total Admissions
Whites	32%	20%	39%
Portuguese	12%		10%
Part Hawaiian	3%	22%	21%
Hawaiian	30%	38%	.5%
Japanese	4%		15%
Chinese	13%	10%	1%
Filipino	6%		5.9%
Others			7.6%

[1]Gudeman, 1967. Source: Mebane, Kamahele & Carpenter, 1976, Figure 1, p. 46.

Among some of the older sources reviewed—e.g., Wedge & Abe, 1949; Schmitt, 1956; Kimmich, 1960; Enright & Jaeckle, 1963; Katz, Gudeman, and Sanborn, 1966; Gudeman 1967a, 1967b—there certainly did not appear to be an overrepresentation of Hawaiians in the State Hospital. However, Kimmich (1960) did note that, "The Japanese have the lowest admission rate to the hospital, while the Caucasian, Filipino, Hawaiian and Other Races categories have admission rates considerably above the All Races figure."

Condition Summary

Testimony and Social Indicator Data suggest a disproportionately high incidence of school adjustment problems.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Support services and/or alternative education for students whose behavior is considered unacceptable.
- School mental health programs, including school-home programs, designed to prevent and/or treat various behavior problems.

Testimony

The mental health needs most directly related to education are those of children whose in-school behavior has proved exceptionally problematic. In general, it appears that Hawaiian youngsters are overrepresented in the group of school-age youth whose behavior requires a formal referral for services or some other formal recognition of a problem situation. Testimonial statements regarding this set of circumstances include the following:

> Teachers who participated in a study that followed 1,000 children found that Hawaiian children ranked high in incidences of achievement and behavioral problems. Included in the latter are problems such as inability to sit still in class, uncontrolled emotions, marked inability to concentrate, extreme irritability, unusual fear and anxiety, and other behaviors reflective of a lack of self-confidence (Carol Eblen, Bill 916, p. 131).

> . . . the third area is just re-echoing what has been said in previous testimony in regard to the mental health needs of our young people. The cultural clashes have resulted in acting out behavior, unacceptable behavior, that has in many instances destroyed the educational opportunities of Native Hawaiian young people (Marion Hanlon, Bill 916, p. 138).

> Extracted data from the DOE 1976 Ethnic and Language Survey, show that Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian middle-grade students need services. These students have high rates of suspension, expulsions, court referrals, and discontinuous special education services (Myron Thompson, Bill 857, p. 187) . . .

> According to the 1976-77 statistics provided by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration office, 30 percent of those suspended from school in the Hawaii island school district are Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian. That means on this island (George Kahumoku, Bill 857, p. 30).

> The reasons Hawaiian children were admitted to our preschool also reflect the pressures and stresses to which Hawaiians have been subjected for several generations. Over a third of the Hawaiian children were enrolled for social adjustment reasons. Some 18 percent of the Hawaiian children were enrolled because of emotional disturbance (Joan Bristow, Bill 857, p. 113).

Additional comments in this regard pointed up the opinion that behavior problems in school may be attributable in large part to discipline problems in the schools.

> Discipline is not consistent; there is no indication to students that anyone cares (Henning, 1978a).

> Fair and stable discipline is needed (Henning, 1978b).

Because this area is one in which the search process did not produce a great deal of information, this need condition may need further investigation in the future.

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs
General Need Area: Alienation
Condition 1: Crime and Juvenile Delinquency

Condition Summary

> Social Indicator and Testimonial Data suggest that crime and juvenile delinquency is a major social problem with respect to Hawaiians.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Preventative, school-based "pre-delinquent" programs.
- Support services and/or alternative education for youth involved in criminal activity.
- Interagency collaboration with respect to crime prevention and control.

Testimony

Crime and juvenile delinquency are often cited as outcomes of an inadequate or ineffective school system; frequently along with other indicators of generalized "alienation" among Hawaiians. Stewart (1980), for example, described various alienation indices for a single "high risk" Hawaiian community, Waianae, as follows:

> One set of alternatives to the failing school system is, of course, crime, welfare and suicide—indicators in which the Waianae area leads the state. According to the students themselves, some 80 percent of

them use drugs, mainly local "pakalolo" (marijuana). Nearly one of every five Waianae youth is arrested at least once, the highest rate in the state. And the pregnancy rate for Waianae girls is nearly 50 percent higher than for the island as a whole. Similarly, infant mortality rates are also about 50 percent higher. (*Hawaii Tribune Herald*, May 1, 1980)

Speaking more specifically to crime, Kanahele (1982) noted that the bottom-line is indisputable: Hawaiians are extensively involved in a range of criminal activities. His brief summary of the situation was as follows:

> The evidence is compelling: Hawaiians are more than half of the population of the State youth correction facility, almost half of the residents in adult correctional facilities, and a high percentage of those on parole. They also lead all other ethnic groups in serious crimes committed and arrests in proportion to their percentage of the population. (p. 22)

Responsibility for preventing crime and for turning around current crime trends among Hawaiian youth has been assigned to various segments of the community over the years. According to some Hawaiians blame and/or effective intervention with respect to crime and juvenile delinquency among Hawaiian youth lies with the schools. George Kahumoku, for example, is one who believes the schools must take responsibility for juvenile delinquency:

> Educators are generally the first to defend that public schools are limited by the functions mandated to them. They reason that schools cannot assume all responsibilities in the best interest of all children. Native Hawaiians are faced with this question: If the department of education cannot assume the responsibility of the native Hawaiian juvenile deliquents, who does—the courts?

The Honorable David L. Baselon, 1970, responds best to this issue:

> The battle against crime can't possibly be won in court, even, in the most enlightened court . . . the name of the game is prevention and that's a job for the institutions in the community that can help children without stigmatizing them, without labeling them delinquents and saddling them with a court record for the rest of their lives . . . When a community has a problem with its children, the obvious place to turn to is the school (Bill 857, p. 31).

Even if the schools were to introduce crime prevention efforts, there remain powerful influences from circumstances outside of the schools, which educators might hope to influence only indirectly through a process of broadly-based social change. Poverty, for example, appears to be a key factor from the perspective of some educators in perpetuating criminal activity. This point was made by several teachers interviewed by Henning (1978a) when she conducted her educational needs assessment on the Leeward area of Oahu. Their pointed observations were as follows:

- Marijuana is an important cash crop.
- Many youth are involved with the syndicate. It's one of the few options to not enough legitimate jobs, **trying** to live on welfare, etc.

Activities such as the above can often interfere with educational programs in unanticipated ways. For example, The Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estate Kupulani project, a home visit early education program, recently conducted a consumer satisfaction survey (Office of Program Evaluation and Planning, 1982; Report No. 82-83: 11). One of the reasons cited by those who chose to participate in the project as an explanation of the reluctance of some families to become involved was that families engaged in "agricultural" activities with marijuana were afraid of having outsiders come to their homes. Unfortunately, it is often these families, who supplement welfare payments with income from the production and sale of illicit drugs, that may be most in need of educational intervention prior to school entry.

Social Indicator Data

Crime and juvenile delinquency is an area that lends itself to analysis through examination of social indicator trends. While several works from the 1970s were obtained and reviewed (e.g., Inkyo, 1974; Quintal, 1977), the bulk of the data presented here was drawn

from the three most recent reports currently available: Alu Like (1977), Hawaii Criminal Justice Information Data Center (1982), and Youth Development and Research Center (1982).

The bottom-line indicator in the area of crime and delinquency is incarceration. In this area Hawaiians are substantially overrepresented in comparison to other ethnic groups as the data presented in Table 44 suggest. It can be seen that the degree of overrepresentation varies somewhat across age levels, with the peak at 66 percent of the 40 - 44 year old felons sentenced for a year or more. The overall 46.6 percent figure offered here as of January 1, 1977 is slightly higher than a 39 percent figure quoted by Kanahele (1982), for the period ending December 31, 1981. Nevertheless, the point remains the same: while Hawaiians constitute nearly one-fifth of the general population; they account for 40 to 50 percent of incarcerated adults.

TABLE 44

Current Age of Adults Incarcerated in Correctional Facilities* January 1, 1977

Current Age	Hawaiian/ Part Hawaiian		Total All Groups
	Number	% of Total	
Under 20	24	48.0%	50
20 - 24	48	44.0%	109
25 - 29	38	43.2%	88
30 - 34	31	53.4%	58
35 - 39	10	50.5%	20
40 - 44	10	66.7%	15
Over 44	2	14.3%	14
TOTAL	163	46.6%	350

*Felons sentenced for a year or more.

Source: Data generated for Alu Like from a file dated January 1, 1977 by State of Hawaii Intake Service Center, Office of Correctional Information and Statistics.

A similar analysis with respect to juveniles assigned to correctional facilities shows that the above pattern is even more pronounced among school-aged youth. Table 45 offers figures from 1972-1973 drawn from Inkyo (1974). Although State population figures were substantially different from more recent tabulations (due to ethnic definitions used for the 1970 census), and might tend to paint a gloomier picture than actually exists in terms of overrepresentation, it is nevertheless clear that Hawaiians tend to end up in youth correctional facilities more frequently than do members of other ethnic groups. This trend may even have intensified over the years: Kanahele (1982) reported that Hawaiians represented about 60 percent of the youth correctional populations as of December 31, 1981. This presence contrasted with 10 percent for Oriental youth and 7 percent for Caucasians.

TABLE 45

Ethnic Background of Juvenile Residents in Correctional Facilities and Percentage of Ethnic Groups in State of Hawaii

Ethnic Background	Total[1]	% Confined	% State[2] Population
TOTAL	322		
Caucasian	26	8.1%	38.8%
Japanese	27	8.4%	28.3%
Part Hawaiian	169	52.5%	9.3%
Hawaiian	1	.3%	—
Filipino	17	5.3%	12.2%
Chinese	4	1.2%	6.8%
Portuguese	15	4.7%	—
Korean	2	.6%	1.1%
Puerto Rican	25	7.8%	—
Negro	6	1.9%	1.0%
Others	30	9.3%	2.4%

[1] State of Hawaii, Department of Social Services and Housing, Corrections Division, "Characteristics of **Juvenile Residents** in Hawaii's Correctional Facilities, Fiscal Year 1972-1973".

[2] 1970 census data.

— Not listed in 1970 census data.

Source: Inkyo, 1974

Incarceration alone is not an indicator of school failure; however, adults who do end up serving prison sentences typically have very limited educational backgrounds. For example, Alu Like (1977) reported the following findings about the felons they studied:

> Almost half (46.6 percent) of the adults incarcerated in prisons are Native Hawaiians. The Hawaiians share the following characteristics with the other prisoners in that most are under age 35, have not completed high school (69.3 percent of the Hawaiians did not graduate), have alcohol and drug abuse problems, are skilled or unskilled laborers, and were unemployed or employed on a seasonal or part-time basis before being committed.

More specifically, it was noted that:

> . . . 203 of the 350 total number of offenders incarcerated did not graduate from high school; 113, or 55.7 per cent of those that did not finish high school are Hawaiian. Of these 113 Hawaiians, only 39 completed some high school—grades 10 and 11 (Alu Like, 1977c).

In short, the prison population consists largely of high school dropouts (about 60 percent), the majority of whom are Hawaiian. These Hawaiians constitute about one-third of the prison population (32 percent), while the Hawaiians with less than a 10th grade education account for 11 percent of the prison inmates.

The employment histories and skills of imprisoned Hawaiian felons tend to be very limited. For example, of the 83 Hawaiian inmates who reported their pre-incarceration employment, 62 (75 percent) reported being "Unemployed" or "Seasonal/Part-time." In terms of occupational class, meanwhile, 52 out 81 (64%) reported their occupational level as "Unskilled." Both of these findings, combined with the felony convictions, blend together to create a picture of "lack of self-sufficiency" (c.f., Alu Like, 1977c). A similar pattern of life outcomes was reported for Hawaiian parolees, a group numbering 150 at the time the study was conducted. For instance, one-third of this group reported being unemployed, and one-third reported seasonal or part-time employment.

Arrest patterns. A point that has frequently been emphasized with respect to arrest patterns is that Hawaiians constitute a much smaller percentage of arrests than they do of convicted criminals. The implication often voiced in response to this fact is that Hawaiians are either unable to defend themselves properly (by spending large sums on good attorneys), or they may be victims of a system that effectively works against them.

Table 46 shows the breakdown of both the total population as well as of all individuals, including adults and juveniles, arrested during 1981. The overall population figures used here differ somewhat from 1980 census data (in which Hawaiians = 11.9 percent of the total population) as well as from Hawaii Health Surveillance Data (in which Hawaiians = 18.9 percent of the total population). However, regardless of the percentage of total population used in evaluating the degree of overrepresentation of Hawaiians among arrests in 1981, it is clear that 23 percent of the arrests is about one-half the figure quoted for percentage representation of Hawaiians in cor-

TABLE 46

Population and Arrests as a Percentage of Ethnic Stock State of Hawaii, 1981, Adults and Juveniles

	Population[1]		Arrests	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Caucasian	318,770	33.0%	13,110	35.3%
Negro	17,364	1.8%	1,506	4.1%
Indian (American)	2,655	.3%	10	
Chinese	56,285	5.8%	691	1.9%
Japanese	239,748	24.9%	2,871	7.7%
Filipino	133,940	13.9%	3,966	10.7%
Samoan	14,073	1.5%	1,507	4.1%
Korean	17,962	1.9%	512	1.4%
Hawaiian/ Part Hawaiian	115,500	12.0%	8,551	23.0%
Other	48,394	5.0%	4,408	11.9%
TOTAL	964,691	100.0%	37,132	100.0%

Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

[1] Population figures from State of Hawaii, Department of Planning and Economic Development. By self-identification or race of mother. Data are not comparable to Health Surveillance Program tabulations used in previous years' reports.

Source: Hawaii Criminal Justice Information Data Center, 1982.

TABLE 47

Juvenile Arrests by Ethnicity, 1973 - 1980

	1973		1974		1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Hawaiian	231	3	247	3	255	3	285	3	248	3	228	3	775	10	3189	40
Caucasian	1446	20	1439	17	1416	17	1494	17	1465	18	1341	18	1126	15	1220	15
Filipino	558	8	722	9	736	9	714	8	601	7	524	7	629	8	724	9
Samoan	269	4	308	4	358	4	473	5	319	4	398	5	429	6	581	7
Japanese	560	8	548	7	512	6	543	6	549	7	440	6	392	5	370	5
Korean	17	—	19	—	41	1	64	1	75	1	91	1	79	1	112	1
Black	64	1	61	1	81	1	61	1	72	1	85	1	74	1	96	1
Chinese	84	1	59	1	89	1	114	1	95	1	95	1	77	1	68	1
All Other	3988	55	4838	59	4996	59	4989	57	4749	58	4665	59	3914	52	1645	21
Total Arrests	7217		8241		8484		8737		8173		7871		7495		8005	

Source: Youth Development and Research Center, 1982, p. 12.

rectional facilities (46.6 percent of incarcerated adults were Hawaiians as of January 1, 1977). There is also no question that Hawaiians are one of the groups in Hawaii that is overrepresented among those arrested.

As might be expected from the number of Hawaiians assigned to youth correctional facilities as considered above, arrest rates among juveniles are markedly higher for Hawaiians than for youth of other ethnic backgrounds. Table 47 offers a recent tabulation of juvenile arrest trends from 1973-1980 (c.f., Youth Development and Research Center, 1982). The information reported in this table provides a good example of some of the problems involved in defining the Hawaiian group. In this case the designation "Hawaiian" was used during 1973-1979 to indicate "pure" Hawaiians, while part-Hawaiians were included in the "All Others" group. However, 1980 saw a change in the definition of Hawaiian as far as arrest statistics are concerned such that part-Hawaiians and Hawaiians were considered together under a general "Hawaiian" category. This definition change explains the dramatic change in arrests of Hawaiian juveniles in 1980 as contrasted with earlier years. As can be seen, grouping of the two categories of Hawaiians results in a total number of arrests that constitutes about 40 percent of all juvenile arrests during 1980.

Types of Crimes. The Hawaii Criminal Justice Information Data Center maintains detailed records of arrests by ethnic group within the State of Hawaii. Table 48 includes tabulations by this agency for 1981. For this report the total number of arrests per crime and the percentage representation of Hawaiians for each category were also computed and added to the information from the HCJIDC. In general, given that Hawaiian adults represent about 12.9 percent of the total adult population age 18 and over (OEO Census Update Survey, 1975), it can be seen that Hawaiians were overrepresented, in varying degrees, for all crimes except manslaughter, fraud, sex offenses, gambling, offenses against family and children, and drunk driving. The crimes in which they are most overrepresented, meanwhile, included embezzlement, arson, motor vehicle theft, and burglary. Overall, Hawaiians accounted for about 18 percent of all adult arrests in the State of Hawaii during 1981.

A similar detailed analysis of juveniles is presented in Table 49. In contrast to the adults, Hawaiian juveniles accounted for about 37 percent of all arrests of juveniles in the State of Hawaii during 1981. This level of representation can be evaluated against the fact that Hawaiians aged 6 through 18 account for about 24.1 percent of the total State of Hawaii population in this age range (OEO Census Update Survey, 1975). Further analysis using this benchmark figure reveals that Hawaiian juveniles were overrepresented in arrest rates for every category of crime except murder. In fact, Hawaiians accounted for 50 percent or more of the arrests for manslaughter, motor vehicle theft, forgery and counterfeiting, and offenses against family and children. Rates were also high for burglary, assault, arson,

TABLE 48

Race of Adults Arrested by Offense State of Hawaii, 1981

Offense	White	Black	Indian	Chinese	Japanese	Filipino	Korean	Samoan	Other	Hawaiian #	Hawaiian % of Total	TOTAL
Murder	16	2	0	0	2	7	0	8	5	11	22%	51
Manslaughter	6	1	1	0	4	0	0	2	1	1	6%	16
Rape	50	17	0	0	4	7	2	10	23	31	22%	144
Robbery	163	42	0	8	38	19	2	54	62	126	25%	514
Aggravated Assault	81	23	1	2	22	41	6	10	29	57	21%	272
Burglary	289	29	0	15	51	68	1	28	79	210	27%	770
Larceny-Theft	1,549	147	0	162	332	447	67	164	349	736	19%	3,953
Motor Vehicle Theft	155	16	0	9	22	35	3	14	64	135	33%	413
Other Assault	455	47	1	30	53	122	12	83	143	302	24%	1,248
Arson	5	2	0	0	0	4	1	0	8	10	33%	30
Forgery & Counterfeiting	31	1	0	1	5	7	0	0	5	12	19%	62
Fraud	287	32	0	5	23	20	3	5	48	54	11%	477
Embezzlement	4	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	1	6	40%	15
Stolen Property	32	4	0	0	4	4	1	2	4	12	19%	63
Vandalism	189	12	0	6	31	26	5	20	38	111	25%	438
Weapons	175	31	0	11	29	86	3	9	44	82	17%	470
Prostitution	143	41	0	2	6	19	3	9	38	50	16%	311
Sex Offenses	59	6	0	0	8	13	1	8	9	14	12%	118
Drug Abuse	1,262	161	0	41	209	243	10	40	202	459	17%	2,627
Gambling	70	4	0	44	144	368	18	9	61	65	8%	783
Offenses Against Family & Children	12	4	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	1	4%	23
Driving Under the Influence	1,231	49	0	71	628	199	93	58	220	319	11%	2,868
Liquor Laws	432	41	2	10	56	71	4	22	112	123	14%	873
Disorderly Conduct	429	48	2	18	46	77	25	58	108	232	22%	1,043
Vagrancy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%	0
All Other Offenses (Except Traffic)	3,995	624	2	196	650	919	130	349	863	1,650	18%	9,378
Suspicion	94	3	0	0	11	21	0	0	7	51	27%	187
TOTAL	11,114	1,387	9	631	2,381	2,827	390	962	2,526	4,860	18%	27,147

Source: Hawaii Criminal Justice Information Data Center, 1982

fraud, gambling, disorderly conduct, and runaways.

Finally, Table 50 shows the five most frequent reasons for arrests of Hawaiian adults and juveniles during 1981. It can be seen that larceny leads both lists by a substantial margin, while drug abuse and assault are both among the five most frequent reasons for arrests of both adult and juvenile Hawaiians. Burglary, which ranks third for juveniles, is number six for adults. Offenses which are clearly age-related, meanwhile, include drunk driving for adults and running away for juveniles. The sixth ranking offense for juveniles is motor vehicle theft.

Family Court Referrals. Referrals to the family courts stem primarily from law violations, from instances in which juveniles are in need of supervision, and from cases in which juveniles need services. Table 51 shows the break down of family court referrals for 1976-1977 as reported by Alu Like (1977). It can be seen that Hawaiians accounted for about 38 percent of all referrals to the family courts, most referrals being in connection with law violations. Hawaiians in this age range account for about 28 percent of the total state population, so the degree of overrepresentation is fairly substantial.

Other Indicators. One indication of long-term committment to criminal activity in the sense of one being considered a "career criminal" is the repeated offense. Hawaiians are quite strongly represented in this category as the following excerpt from Alu Like (1977c) suggests:

> Repeated offenders are those adults currently incarcerated or on parole who were previously committed to jail or to prison. All are felons sentenced for one year or longer. On January 1, 1977 there

TABLE 49

Race of Juveniles Arrested by Offense State of Hawaii, 1981

Offense	White	Black	Indian	Chinese	Japanese	Filipino	Korean	Samoan	Other	Hawaiian #	Hawaiian % of Total	TOTAL
Murder	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	20%	5
Manslaughter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	50%	2
Rape	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	40%	5
Robbery	13	2	0	0	4	11	0	40	29	63	39%	162
Aggravated Assault	1	0	0	0	0	3	1	2	7	8	36%	22
Burglary	194	7	0	0	26	78	7	69	193	421	42%	995
Larceny- Theft	536	43	0	39	214	492	46	192	567	1,008	32%	3,137
Motor Vehicle Theft	48	3	0	0	14	30	3	18	59	196	53%	371
Other Assault	76	6	0	1	20	51	14	41	111	229	42%	549
Arson	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	9	45%	20
Forgery & Counterfeiting	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	6	50%	12
Fraud	6	2	0	1	1	1	1	0	6	15	45%	33
Embezzlement	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0%	1
Stolen Property	4	0	0	0	0	7	0	1	4	9	36%	25
Vandalism	45	2	0	1	13	27	0	17	46	88	37%	239
Weapons	2	1	0	0	5	9	1	3	13	21	38%	55
Prostitution	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	9	9	39%	23
Sex Offenses	3	1	0	1	0	3	0	2	10	8	29%	28
Drug Abuse	180	3	0	2	39	55	2	6	113	201	33%	601
Gambling	2	0	0	1	3	7	0	5	3	17	45%	38
Offenses Against Family & Children	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	6	55%	11
Driving Under the Influence	9	0	0	0	6	3	0	0	5	9	28%	32
Liquor Laws	52	2	0	1	20	13	2	1	37	44	26%	172
Disorderly Conduct	11	0	0	0	2	4	0	8	13	27	43%	63
Vagrancy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%	0
All Other Offenses (Except Traffic)	418	30	1	7	67	209	31	86	349	681	36%	1,879
Suspicion	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0%	4
Curfew & Loitering Law Violations	93	2	0	1	35	72	5	11	74	136	32%	429
Runaways	229	14	0	4	21	61	7	13	225	476	44%	1,070
TOTAL	1,936	119	1	60	490	1,139	122	545	1,882	3,691	37%	9,985

Source: Hawaii Criminal Justice Information Data Center, 1982.

were 350 adults incarcerated and 344 adults on parole for a total of 694 offenders. Of the 694 total, 257, or 37.0 per cent, had previously been committed to jail or prison. There were 313 Native Hawaiians incarcerated and on parole, of which 41.2 per cent (129) were repeated offenders. The data indicates that a slightly higher percentage of Hawaiians are repeated offenders, 41.2 per cent versus 37.0 per cent of the total population.

To this it might be added that the 129 repeated offenders who were Hawaiian accounted for 50.2 percent of the total number of repeated offenders in prison and on parole. In short, when one talks about so-called career criminals chances appear to be about 50:50 in the State of Hawaii that such a person would be Hawaiian.

Data regarding adults and juveniles on parole and adults on probation provide much the same picture in terms of Hawaiian overrepresentation as do the figures on incarceration. The following excerpts from Alu Like (1977c) summarize the situation:

- On January 1, 1977 there were a total of 344 adults on parole, 150, or 43.6 per cent of which were Native Hawaiians. Eighty-three of the Hawaiians were between the ages of 20 and 29, and 114 were under age 35. Two were under age 20.

- Of the 54 total parolees under age 18 on parole from the Hawaii Youth Correctional Facility as of September 15, 1977, 25, or 46.3 percent were Hawaiian.

Twenty Hawaiians were paroled on the island of Oahu, 2 are paroled on each of the Counties of Maui and Hawaii, and one in Kauai County.

- Slightly more than 1/3 (34.9%) of adults on probation in January 1977 were Hawaiians, while only 13.5 percent of adults in the State population are Hawaiians.

TABLE 50

The Five Most Frequent Reasons for Arrests of Hawaiian Adults and Juveniles, 1981

	Number of Hawaiian Arrests	% of Hawaiian Arrests	% of All Arrests
ADULTS[1]			
1. Larceny	736	15%	19%
2. Drug Abuse	459	9%	17%
3. Drunk Driving	319	7%	11%
4. Assault	302	6%	24%
5. Disorderly Conduct	232	5%	22%
TOTAL	2,048	42%	
JUVENILES[2]			
1. Larceny	1,008	27%	32%
2. Runaways	476	13%	44%
3. Burglary	421	11%	42%
4. Assault	229	6%	42%
5. Drug Abuse	201	5%	33%
TOTAL	2,335	62%	

[1] Hawaiian adults 18 years and older constitute 12.9 percent of total state population, OEO Census Update Survey 1975.

[2] Hawaiian juveniles age 6 - 18 represent 24.1 percent of total state population, OEO Census Update Survey 1975.

Source: Based on data from Hawaii Criminal Justice Information Data Center, 1982.

Social Science Analysis

The strong representation of Hawaiians among those arrested for various crimes and those who are eventually incarcerated may have some undesirable effects for Hawaiians as a group because of the general attitudes of the citizenry regarding crime. Specifically, a statewide survey of residents in connection with the development of the Hawaii State Plan (Department of Planning and Economic Development, 1978) revealed that the major concern of citizens in the State is crime. This ranked above the strong concerns for inflation, high taxes, and high housing costs. From the point of view of the schools and from that of Hawaiians as a whole the strong salience of Hawaiian youth among juveniles who are arrested in the State may be of particular concern in light of the high visibility of crime issues locally.

TABLE 51

Juveniles Referred to Family Court State Totals by Type and Sex, July 1, 1976 to June 30, 1977

Type of Referral*	Hawaiian/ Part Hawaiian		Total All Groups
	Number	% of Total	
Total Referrals	1642	38.2%	4294
Male	1135	38.1%	2978
Female	507	38.5%	1316
Law Violations	1120	39.2%	2859
Male	883	38.9%	2269
Female	237	40.2%	590
Needing Supervision	355	36.8%	964
Male	151	35.6%	424
Female	204	37.8%	540
Needing Services	67	40.9%	164
Male	26	35.1%	74
Female	41	45.6%	90
Other Referrals	95	30.9%	307
Male	72	34.1%	211
Female	23	24.0%	96

* Made by Police Department, State Agencies, schools, Health and Welfare Agencies.

Note: Hawaiians comprise 27.4 percent of the male juveniles and 28.7% of the female juveniles in the State.

Source: Data generated for Alu Like from a file dated June 30, 1977 by the Statistics Division, The Judiciary, State of Hawaii.

Looking more specifically at the connection between school achievement and criminal involvement, the Youth Development and Research Center at the University of Hawaii (1982) recently compiled information regarding the arrest rates and Stanford Achievement Test standardized achievement test results for Oahu's intermediate and high schools. Since their interest was in making a connection between poor school achievement and apparent involvement in criminal activity as indicated by arrest statistics, they reported arrest rates in

TABLE 52

Comparison of SAT Test Results for 10th Graders on Below Average Scores With Arrest Rate of Public High Schools

Rank Order	Number of Arrests	Arrest Rate*	Percent Hawaiian Students	SAT SCORES Reading Ranking**	Reading % Below Average	English Ranking	English % Below Average	Math Ranking	Math % Below Average
1.	306	18	41.6%	3	49	1	53	1	49
2.	306	12	16.6%	2	60	2	51	2	45
3.	192	12	13.5%	13	27	11	24	7	26
4.	199	11	34.3%	10	32	8	29	8	25
5.	135	11	61.8%	1	61	3	50	3	43
6.	249	10	12.4%	7	35	9	29	11	20
7.	213	10	10.1%	8	34	10	27	14	18
8.	183	9	11.3%	15	26	15	22	10	23
9.	233	9	17.4%	14	27	14	23	12	20
10.	174	9	11.3%	12	29	12	24	13	19
11.	157	9	8.6%	21	14	20	13	17	12
12.	228	9	14.7%	19	18	19	16	19	11
13.	171	8	18.1%	9	34	6	32	9	24
14.	128	8	13.8%	6	39	4	38	6	26
15.	133	8	6.2%	16	22	18	18	18	12
16.	115	7	11.3%	20	16	21	11	20	11
17.	108	7	19.5%	11	32	13	24	15	16
18.	101	6	33.9%	5	42	5	33	5	29
19.	113	6	13.4%	17	21	16	18	21	10
20.	120	6	5.6%	18	19	17	17	16	14
21.	42	4	23.5%	4	47	7	31	4	35

*Rate Represents number of arrests per 100 pupils enrolled.

**Ranking among all public high schools in City and County of Honolulu in terms of the percent of the students low scoring in stanines 1, 2, or 3; e.g., Rank of 1 = Highest percentage of students scoring below average.

Source: Youth Development and Research Center, 1982, p.37.

rank order along with the percentage of the student body at each school who scored "below average" (i.e., within the first three stanines) on the nationally-normed SAT. Arrest data were drawn from the 1980 Statistical Report of the Honolulu Police Department, while test score information from Fall, 1981 appeared in the *Honolulu Star Bulletin* (Gomes, 1982).

Table 52 and Table 53 show the results of the study for Oahu's high schools and intermediate schools respectively. The general conclusion of the authors was that "the relationship of arrest rates and academic achievement (SAT test scores) show a positive correlation for both intermediate and high schools" (p. 48). However, they did note several exceptions to the trend in that two high schools and one intermediate school had comparatively low achievement on the SAT while also having low arrest rates. Regarding this, the authors offered the following explanations:

> All three schools with low arrest rates but high percentages of students scoring below average on the SAT are rural schools with relatively small enrollments. Clearly there is some interaction between the setting of the campus and the likelihood that their students will be arrested. Unlike the urban schools, this pattern seems unaffected by the academic performace of the student body. In the urban setting, however, there is a definite relationship between the school's arrest rate and the poor performance of its students on the Stanford Achievement Test. (p. 49)

TABLE 53

Comparison of SAT Test Results For 8th Graders on Below Average Scores With Arrests By Public Intermediate Schools

Rank Order	Number of Arrests	Arrest Rate*	Percent Hawaiian Students	SAT SCORES Reading Ranking**	Reading % Below Average	Math Ranking	Math % Below Average
1.	235	17	16.0%	2	47	6	35
2.	221	17	9.4%	10	30	12	18
3.	158	14	14.4%	1	57	4	39
4.	120	13	41.0%	5	42	3	40
5.	68	13	19.0%	6	38	8	28
6.	134	12	11.9%	7	36	2	42
7.	81	11	18.0%	15	22	20	13
8.	88	10	18.3%	16	21	14	16
9.	45	10	25.2%	3	46	5	36
10.	122	9	28.9%	9	31	9	25
11.	70	8	13.6%	12	25	15	17
12.	80	7	20.8%	8	34	7	31
13.	70	6	11.5%	19	17	19	14
14.	65	6	20.4%	13	23	10	19
15.	57	6	5.5%	20	17	16	16
16.	52	5	16.8%	11	25	11	18
17.	42	5	7.6%	17	20	17	16
18.	38	4	9.1%	14	23	13	17
19.	35	4	8.6%	21	8	21	13
20.	24	3	7.1%	18	20	18	15
21.	19	2	55.0%	4	43	1	45

*Rate represents number of arrests per 100 pupils enrolled.
**Ranking among all public intermediate schools in City and County of Honolulu.

Source: Youth Development and Research Center, 1982, p. 39.

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs
General Need Area: Alienation
Condition 2: Community Leadership/ Political Power

Condition Summary

Hawaiians have generally been absent from positions of power and political leadership. This tradition reaches back to the monarchy period, and continues to this day. For example, even many "Hawaiian" leaders and outstanding citizens have largely non-Hawaiian backgrounds, both in terms of blood quantum and childhood socialization experiences.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Specialized leadership development programs and/or support services for promising students.
- Programs designed to raise the political consciences of minority culture youth.
- Ethnic studies programs designed to enlighten minority as well as majority group members.
- Programs capable of accelerating assimilation into the dominant culture.
- Programs to inform youth about alternatives to assimilation into the dominant culture.

Testimony

Political participation and representation in the leadership of specific communities is a function of many factors. For example, general socioeconomic status may be a key determinant since such participation is not essential to day-to-day survival; thus, those with adequate income are more likely to be able to spend

time and energy in the political arena. Another factor may simply be the political traditions of the community. In the case of Hawaiians, for instance, it appears that there has never been widespread political participation on the part of the masses largely because of a long tradition of oligarchical political organization. An historical analysis of this trend was offered recently in testimony given by Don Johnson, a historian, to the *Native Hawaiian* (1982). He described the preference of Hawaii's *ali'i* (ruling class) for haole advisors and the general lack of a popular political base for Hawaiian leadership. (For more on this see Sahlins, 1981.)

Others, meanwhile, point up the fact that many of the Hawaiians who have attained leadership positions in the community have multi-ethnic backgrounds in which the Hawaiian element may be very limited. Arthur Kinney, for example, in his testimony noted the following:

> I am sure that Senator Inouye, who has championed our aboriginal Hawaiian lands claim for some years now, is aware of the fact that of the 150,000 more or less Hawaiians living today, a very small minority have achieved prominence in any category of influence. I believe that you can count them with the fingers of one hand. Almost all of our Hawaiians in prominence today are between one-eighth and three-eighths Hawaiian. (Bill 916, p. 216)

The 1982 elections serve as evidence that trends may be reversing. Specifically, OHA noted in their quarterly newspaper that, "For the first time in many many years the number of State Senators and Representatives of Hawaiian ancestry reflects the proposition of Hawaiians in the general population." *(Ka Wai Ola O OHA, 1983)*. The exact figure in this case is 21 percent as contrasted with a representation in the general population of about 18.9 percent. This, of course, is an important accomplishment, but at the same time one can clearly see multicultural/multiethnic influences not only in the faces of those pictured, but in surnames as well (e.g., two out of 16, 12.5 percent, were clearly Hawaiian while the rest were from the various ethnic groups in the State).

Regardless of the explanations for the individual successes of some Hawaiians, the most recent trend in the political arena appears to be towards greater involvement. For example, Hawaii's retired Chief Justice William S. Richardson recently remarked on this trend in an address to the Indigenous Peoples International Conference. His point of view was as follows:

> As I stated earlier, cultural identity is the basis for political identity and unity. The conventional "wisdom" has held that Hawaiians so totally distrust the political process that they have failed to become involved. It was true and Hawaiians had good cause to distrust the system. It was totally foreign to their culture and when Hawaiians did participate they found their voices counted for little. The period from 1894 to 1898 presents a good example. Hawaiians sent petitions and letters, organized by the thousands to protest annexation to the United States. Yet neither the local government in Hawaii nor the United States Congress seemed to care that the native population opposed annexation. Given such a history Hawaiians obviously have had little faith in political processes.
>
> Yet, one thing the establishment of OHA has proven is that Hawaiians will and do participate in the political process when they are directly affected and they feel that their participation will count. For instance, in the last OHA election, over 42,000 Hawaiians voted for the trustee positions. OHA has acted as a unifying political force for Hawaiians — and what is most important is that at every stage of OHA's development Hawaiians have made the important decisions about issues that affect Hawaiians. Hawaiians spearheaded the creation of OHA, Hawaiians fought for legislation implementing OHA, Hawaiians have laid the foundation in OHA's first two years of existence. (Richardson, 1983, p. 5)

Seemingly, the developments of recent years have brought to fruition some of the hopes of 1960s activists who felt that Hawaiians needed to learn political skills in order to attain their goals. An example of the point of view of some activists of that time is the following 1971 comment from Pae Galdeira, then president of The Hawaiians, the principal non-militant group

seeking the restoration of lands and rights to Hawaiians:

> I see a lot of hope for Hawaiian people in the future, simply because they know what's happening and they won't run away from their problems. We have to go political — that's the only way things can happen. (Bassett, 1971)

Perhaps the 1982 elections mark the turning point that Hawaiians have been hoping for in terms of developing strong representation in the political activities of the state. Certainly the election outcomes realized some of the hopes expressed by OHA during the summer, 1982 *(Ka Wai Ola O OHA, 1982).*

Finally, in closing this examination of testimony, one cannot ignore Hawaiian militancy. There has been a trend since the 1960s for some Hawaiians to band together in reaction to general economic and social trends in the Islands, and in visible support of traditional values, lifestyles, and practices. Some of these militants strongly favor secession from the union, or at the very least designation of parts of Hawaii as a distinct nation for Native Hawaiians. They point to the fact that Hawaiians were the group most opposed to statehood, and they often cite this as a major event in the long downfall and subjugation of Hawaiian people. Primary targets of criticism for militants include the military presence in Hawaii; the tourist industry with its incumbent growth, development, and social/cultural pressures and change; and local power structures, particularly institutions such as The Bishop Estate and Hawaiian Homes Commission, that are legally charged with promoting the welfare of Hawaiians, but which some feel have not fulfilled their responsibilities.

Reports on the activities and preferences of Hawaiian militiants have regularly appeared in the local press and have been covered by radio and television news sources. Since these tend to cover only part of picture, since they focus on but one issue at a time, it is the investigative pieces by Mainland-based journalists that seem to bring together the broader picture of unrest. Two reports in this genre that focused heavily on militancy and "problems in paradise" appeared in *New Yorker* magazine: Gray (1972), and Shaplen (1982). Both provided a fairly comprehensive overview of their perception of Hawaiian activism, including extensive interview material.

In summary, it appears that regardless of their political views, Hawaiians and Hawaii residents generally see a need for young Hawaiians to develop a political awareness and a willingness to participate in the political process. Of course, differences in values produce a very broad continuum of opinion in most matters under consideration today—and the political arena is no exception. Thus, while some advocate training aimed at increasing participation in the electoral process, others would prefer to recruit and train fellow activists.

Social Indicator Data

Employment patterns. Positions of leadership and power in the community can be deduced from an examination of the industries in which Hawaiians are employed. Figures 31 and 32 contrast the patterns of employment of Hawaiians who had worked during the years of 1970-1975 with those of the state population as a whole. It can be seen that for adults as well as for youth aged 19-25 there tended to be particularly strong representation in Construction and Transportation/Communications categories and relatively weak representation in Government and Retail categories.

Additional information about the pattern of employment among Hawaiians was offered above in the discussion of job status as a feature of general socioeconomic status. In general, it was shown that Hawaiians are underrepresented in the professions and high status occupations as well as in clerical and sales occupations; while they tend to be overrepresented in structural and service occupations.

Social Science Analysis

The social science work bearing on the relative standing of Hawaiians in terms of community leadership and political power is apparently quite limited. Taken as a whole it forms a disparate body of work.

An example of a study examining the presence of Hawaiians within a specific public agency normally associated with power is that of Didrick Castberg, a Hilo College political scientist and statistician. Castberg studied the ethnic background of personnel employed in the circuit court in Hilo (c.f., Clark, 1977). In brief, he found that about 65 percent of the employees were of Japanese background, while

Hawaiians, making up about 25 percent of the population of the area, accounted for only six percent of the employees. He also noted that about 48 percent of elected and appointed county officials were of Japanese background, while only 12 percent were Hawaiian. And similarly with jury commissions over an eight year period, he found domination by Caucasians (37 percent), Japanese (28 percent), and Filipinos (25 percent) as opposed to the approximately 6 percent representation by Hawaiians. This particular study was aired in a court case in which defense attroneys were trying to establish that Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians are a disadvantaged class in the state.

In moving from politics to the business world, and a different type of leadership and power, the key work in this area seems to be a report compiled by Homer (1975). In surveying a group of Hawaiians who had achieved management positions in the business community, Homer identified a number of phenomena which he detailed in concise summary of his work. This summary is reproduced here because it paints a fairly thorough picture of a select group of ostensibly successful Hawaiians who have managed to overcome whatever barriers might have existed to take their place of leadership in the dominant culture. Homer's summary is as follows.

The results of this study can be summarized as follows:

1. Most of the respondents are 1/4 - 3/8 Hawaiian. There were no full Hawaiian respondents and very few 1/16 - 1/8 respondents. Data supports the fact that there are no full Hawaiians in management. Anthropological studies support the idea that few would respond in the 1/16 - 1/8 category.

2. The respondents are distributed between the ages of twenty and sixty years. The mean age of the group is forty years, with most of the respondents between the ages of thirty and fifty years.

3. The group is relatively highly educated. The median and mean years of education for the respondents is sixteen years. More respondents have post-graduate education — up to 20 years total — than those who did not finish high school.

4. The group is biased toward high levels of income. The mean income is $22,000 per year; the median income is $20,000. Seventy percent of the respondents have incomes over $20,000 per year. Thirty percent have incomes under $20,000 per year. Forty percent of the respondents have incomes over $30,000 per year. These results reinforce what would be expected from age and education information for the group.

5. The responses are fairly evenly divided as far as company hiring practices are concerned. Most companies hire on the basis of ability, not ethnicity.

6. Most Hawaiians in management prefer to consider other Hawaiians for jobs. Those who do not tend to be very negative and occasionally hostile toward the idea.

7. Most Hawaiians in management feel they have become successful in spite of their being Hawaiian. The majority feel hard work, loyalty, and sometimes luck are the prime ingredients for success. Several respondents were quite negative towards dealing with other Hawaiians.

An inconsistency is apparent: while most Hawaiians prefer to consider other Hawaiians for jobs, they feel success has little to do with ethnic background. Possible solutions: a) they are not aware of their own success attitudes; b) they identify strongly with problems of ethnic Hawaiians — they want to help as many Hawaiians as possible on board in order to give them a chance; c) they really do not prefer to consider Hawaiians for jobs.

8. There is no significant correlation between the variables age and education.

9. The respondents show a high correlation between higher levels of education and higher levels of income for 'over $30,000 per year' income group. The correlation between education and income is insignificant for all groups under $30,000 per year except that all respondents have had at least two years of college if they are making over $20,000 per year.

10. The combination of the age and income responses provide results which conform to the expected pattern based on national figures.

11. By combining the variables education and fraction of Hawaiian blood we

see that the lower the fraction of Hawaiian blood, the higher the level of education is for the group. It is expected that these results are culturally determined and are also affected by job expectations.

12. The combination of the variables fraction of Hawaiian blood and income show that the lower the fraction of Hawaiian blood, the higher the level of income. These results correlate with those found by combining income with education.

13. The responses show that the lower the fraction of Hawaiian blood, the lower will be the age of the respondent. From this the implication arrived at here is that the younger Hawaiians are finding it easier to get into management positions.

Some of the information found in this study tends to reinforce the finding of other, though dated, studies. Taken as a whole the results obtained here provide new insight into an important aspect of Hawaiian life. Those wishing to draw conclusions about Hawaiians in management from this study may do so benefited by statistical data which can be found in no other place. (pp. 32-34)

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs
General Need Area: Alienation
Condition 3: Substance Abuse

Condition Summary

Social Indicator, Survey, and Testimonial Data show Hawaiians overrepresented among drug and alcohol abusers at all age levels.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Support services and/or alternative educational programs aimed at substance abusers.
- Preventive substance abuse education programs for elementary and secondary levels.
- Home-school programs designed to address problems of substance abuse.
- Special services to families in which substance abuse interferes with educational activities.
- Interagency collaboration with respect to substance abuse prevention and treatment.

Testimony

Awareness of substance abuse on the part of Hawaii's school age youth appears to be fairly common knowledge both among school personnel as well as among community members and youth themselves. The following testimony from Johnnie C. Torres, Sr. suggests the strong reactions that some community members have with respect to current drug problems:

> Look at what's happening to us today in our aloha, so-called Aloha State, where our kids, the ones that are not in jail are over in Kaneohe on drugs because the system that we have today, they cannot learn. You go to the public schools here in the State of Hawaii, just take a drive by and you'll find as many kids outside of the classroom as you find inside of the classroom.
>
> I question these principals. In fact, I'm on record in the State, I went on record and I said to this one principal, I asked him how come the kids are supposed to be in class are out of the classrooms, and some of them with rags in their hands? I went as far as telling him "You are the captain of this ship here, this is your school", I said, "If you cannot run your school, you got no darn business around here. And if you don't know how to resign, let me know and I'll help you," because of what I see that our kids are unemployed. They cannot apply for a job. (Bill 916, p. 175)

Further evidence of the level of community concern regarding problems of drug abuse is the fact that a survey conducted by the American Lung Association of Hawaii led to a front page story in the *Honolulu Advertiser* (Clark, 1982) under the headline "26% of Big Isle Seniors Say They Smoke Pot Heavily." While this certainly suggests the existence of a significant drug abuse situation, the survey actually found that 33 percent of Big Island seniors smoke marijuana—of these students about 26% reported smoking "heavily" (1 or more

cigarettes per day, c.f., American Lung Association of Hawaii, 1982).

Finally, substance abuse is clearly not limited to drugs, since alcohol abuse is also a problem. For example, Henning (1978b) in here needs assessment work at Roosevelt High School in Honolulu noted one of the concerns of educators with respect to student behavior as: "Drinking in and around school is a big problem."

TABLE 54

Lifetime Prevalence of Use and Use in the Past Month of 19 Commonly-Abused Substances by Ethnic Groups State of Hawaii, 1979

	Filipino N=370	Chinese N=97	Caucasian N=638	Japanese N=590	Hawaiian N=590	Portuguese N=92	Others N=446
Coffee	85.2* (76.4)**	95.4 (80.2)	95.9 (85.0)	95.9 (84.5)	90.6 (77.7)	95.4 (86.3)	93.1 (78.2)
Cigarette	47.5 (27.4)	46.1 (14.1)	70.6 (39.6)	53.4 (24.2)	66.6 (40.7)	61.0 (32.4)	58.7 (36.9)
Alcohol	52.8 (36.1)	72.5 (40.5)	91.4 (77.7)	77.6 (44.6)	80.8 (52.8)	86.5 (52.6)	76.4 51.3)
Marijuana	17.6 (7.9)	12.6 (3.3)	43.2 (21.0)	20.8 (6.7)	40.2 (20.9)	23.3 (15.9)	33.9 (15.0)
OTC	28.7 (7.4)	27.9 (3.9)	41.2 (6.6)	23.2 (3.6)	38.3 (7.0)	26.5 (8.6)	34.4 (9.4)
Sedative	6.6 (2.2)	8.7 (3.2)	24.3 (4.9)	5.5 (1.6)	12.4 (1.7)	14.2 (4.7)	13.2 (3.1)
Stimulant	4.7 (.7)	4.6 (2.5)	22.7 (3.5)	4.9 (.4)	11.7 (1.6)	9.5 (7.7)	16.2 (1.5)
Tranquilizers	18.5 (3.9)	16.9 (3.4)	38.2 (11.2)	18.8 (3.9)	20.3 (4.1)	39.3 (14.6)	22.0 (4.3)
Inhalant	6.1 (2.9)	.9 (0)	10.0 (1.2)	1.3 (.1)	13.4 (1.7)	7.1 (3.1)	10.9 (1.7)
Opiate	19.7 (7.1)	25.4 (3.7)	45.2 (7.2)	26.3 (4.1)	29.9 (4.7)	40.8 (4.3)	33.3 (5.2)
Hallucinogen	2.9 (.6)	.5 (.1)	19.9 (2.1)	3.7 (.4)	11.8 (1.5)	10.9 (2.3)	12.7 (2.4)
PCP	1.4 (0)	.4 (0)	7.7 (.1)	1.5 (.4)	9.4 (1.0)	1.9 (1.0)	7.4 (.3)
Cocaine	3.9 (.5)	.5 (.3)	22.7 (9.5)	3.7 (1.3)	15.1 (4.9)	10.1 (4.5)	15.1 (5.3)
Heroin	1.4 (0)	.2 (0)	4.6 (.3)	.7 (0)	4.9 (1.2)	3.7 (-)	3.0 (.1)
Stimulant +	3.1 (.4)	.5 (.1)	13.5 (2.5)	1.8 (.03)	2.9 (.7)	5.4 (4.1)	7.2 (1.0)
Sedative +	2.6 (.4)	.5 (.3)	12.9 (2.5)	1.8 (.4)	5.9 (1.2)	6.5 (2.2)	7.6 (.9)
OTC +	1.7 (.4)	.9 (.7)	6.5 (1.2)	1.5 (.3)	3.0 (.4)	3.7 (3.7)	3.0 (1.1)
Tranquilizers +	3.5 (0)	.2 (0)	12.5 (0)	1.3 (.03)	4.3 (1.2)	14.7 (4.0)	5.7 (.4)
Opiates +	1.5 (.3)	.3 (0)	5.0 (1.6	.7 (.2)	2.3 (.5)	3.3 (2.3)	5.9 (.4)

* Lifetime prevalence.
** Use in the past month
\+ Non-medical Use

Source: Cernak & Caalim, 1980

Social Science Analysis

The key source of information about substance use and abuse in the State of Hawaii is a statewide survey reported on by Cernak and Caalim (1980). This report contains the most recent and most complete information currently available, and provides a breakdown by ethnic group.

Table 54 provides two figures regarding use of substances commonly subject to abuse for each of the key ethnic groups in the State of Hawaii. In general, it can be seen that Caucasians and Hawaiians tend to lead all other groups in percent of use for the majority of substances listed. If one were to try to identify the particular substances that are used more commonly among Hawaiians than among other groups, these would appear to be marijuana, inhalants, PCP, and heroin.

In addition to reporting on substance use among Hawaii's people, Cernak also provided detailed estimates of the number of abusers by ethnic group to three general categories: alcohol abusers, drug abusers, drug and alcohol abusers. Cernak's findings are summarized in Table 55. It can be seen that Caucasians and Hawaiians are overrepresented among abusers in all three categories, while Portuguese also show some overrepresentation in drug and alcohol abuse. The extent of the problem in turns of absolute numbers within each ethnic groups is clearly indicated by the estimates for the number of abusers per ethnic group.

TABLE 55

Estimated Substance Abuse Population for Three General Categories of Abuse by Ethnic Group, State of Hawaii, 1979

	Group	Group Population Estimate	Percentage of Total Population 12 Years and Older	Estimate Number of Abusers	Percentage of Abusing Population	Abusers As Percentage of Group Population
ALCOHOL ABUSERS	Filipino	72,145	10.2%	4,734	8.8%	6.6%
	Chinese	34,672	4.9%	1,084	2.2%	3.2%
	Caucasian	196,327	27.8%	21,845	40.6%	11.1%
	Japanese	164,244	23.2%	6,157	11.4%	3.7%
	Hawaiian	111,396	15.8%	10,445	19.4%	9.4%
	Portuguese	15,256	2.2%	904	1.7%	5.9%
	Other	110,505	15.6%	8,628	16.0%	7.8%
	TOTAL	707,139		53,803		
DRUG ABUSERS (NOT ALCOHOL)	Filipino	72,145	10.2%	2,076	5.5%	2.9%
	Chinese	34,672	4.9%	900	2.4%	2.6%
	Caucasian	196,327	27.8%	18,564	49.1%	9.5%
	Japanese	164,244	23.2%	2,150	5.7%	1.3%
	Hawaiian	111,396	15.8%	8,429	22.3%	7.6%
	Portuguese	15,256	2.2%	922	2.4%	6.0%
	Other	110,506	15.6%	4,537	12.0%	4.1%
	TOTAL	707,139		37,782		
DRUG AND ALCOHOL ABUSERS	Filipino	72,145	10.2%	42	.3%	.1%
	Chinese	34,672	4.9%	37	.3%	.1%
	Caucasian	196,327	27.8%	5,955	49.0%	3.0%
	Japanese	164,244	23.2%	762	6.3%	.5%
	Hawaiian	111,396	15.8%	2,777	22.8%	2.5%
	Portuguese	15,256	2.2%	583	4.8%	3.8%
	Other	110,506	15.6%	2,007	16.5%	2.0%
	TOTAL	707,139		12,163		

Source: Cernak & Caalim, 1980

Brief summary overviews of the demographic characteristics of each of the three substance abuse categories identified by Cernak and Caalim (1980) are as follows:

Alcohol Abusers

Eighty percent of the alcohol abusers are 26 years and older and male (81.3%). Approximately forty percent are Caucasian (40.6%) and twenty percent (19.4%) are Hawaiian. Relative to their population sizes, the aforementioned demographic groups also represent the groups most at risk for alcohol abuse.

. . . the majority of alcohol abusers are married (55%), and employed (61.2%). Approximately 51% have an income of less than $20,000 a year, 53.1% have more than a high school education, 42% are Catholic, 26% are Protestant, 12% are retired persons, 29.9% reside in East Honolulu, and 23.3% reside in Central Oahu.

Drug Abusers (Not Alcohol Abusers)

Approximately 37,782 persons (5.3% of Hawaii's general population age 12 and over) are drug abusers . . . Nearly fifty-five percent (54.8%) of the drug abusers are 25 years or younger. Approximately 56% are male, 50% (49.1%) are Caucasian and 22% are Hawaiian (22.3%).

Relative to their population size, 18-25 year olds, Caucasians, and Hawaiians are the groups most at risk for a drug abuse problem . . . The majority of drug abusers are single (61%) have an income less than $15,000 per year (56.1%) and are employed (55%). Approximately 61.0% have more than a high school education, 14% are students, 43.4% are Catholic, 16.8% are Protestant, 32.2% reside in East Honolulu, and 21.9% reside in Central Oahu.

Alcohol and Drug Abusers

Approximately 12,163 persons (1.7% of Hawaii's general population) abuse both alcohol and drugs.

Nearly fifty percent (47.7%) of the abusers of both alcohol and drugs are under 26 years of age. Approximately 75% are male, 49% are Caucasian, and 22.8% are Hawaiian. Relative to their population size, 18-25 year olds, males, Caucasians, Hawaiians and Portuguese are most at risk for an alcohol and drug abuse problem.

While Hawaiians clearly receive prominent mention in the above instances, Caucasians are markedly higher in all three cases.

Cernak (1979) also reported on use among secondary school age students 12 - 17 years of age. Table 56 shows both lifetime prevalence of substance use as well as use in the past month for 12-17 year olds in the Hawaii statewide survey compared with use rates in a Mainland sample. It can be seen that Hawaii youth statewide (all ethnic groups) were slightly higher than the Mainland sample in terms of lifetime prevalence of use for

TABLE 56

Lifetime Prevalence of Substance Use and Use in the Past Month, U.S. Mainland and Hawaii 12-17 Year Olds

	Lifetime Prevalence				Use In Past Month			
	Mainland		Hawaii		Mainland		Hawaii	
Substance	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Cigarettes	54%	12,600,000	35.2%	35,426	12%	2,800,000	15.3%	15,442
Alcohol	70%	16,400,000	52.1%	52,482	37%	8,700,000	27.4%	27,603
Marijuana	31%	7,300,000	31.8%	32,048	17%	4,000,000	17.9%	18,058
Inhalants	10%	2,300,000	10.9%	10,973	2%	500,000	2.9%	2,973
Hallucinogens	7%	1,600,000	4.2%	4,274	2%	500,000	1.8%	1,769
PCP	4%	900,000	3.6%	3,585	+	+	.8%	799
Cocaine	5%	1,200,000	5.1%	5,173	1%	200,000	2.5%	2,523
Heroin	.5%	100,000	.4%	359	–	–	+	+
Stimulants*	3%	700,000	1.7%	1,718	1%	200,000	.7%	726
Sedatives*	3%	700,000	3.8%	3,806	1%	200,000	.5%	562
Tranquilizers*	4%	900,000	3.4%	3,446 .6%	100,000	.7%	766	

*Non-medical Use
–Amounts Less Than .5% Not Reported
+Not Reported
Source: Cernak, 1979.

marijuana, inhalants, cocaine, and non-medical use of sedatives. Their use in the past month, meanwhile, was also slightly higher for cigarettes, marijuana, inhalants, cocaine, and non-medical use of tranquilizers.

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: Alienation

Condition 4: School Attendance

Condition Summary

Hawaiians are disproportionately represented among school dropouts, among those with excessive numbers of absences from school, and in truancy statistics.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Programs or supplementary features of the educational system designed to enhance school attendance.
- Home-school programs aimed at promoting and maintaining school attendance.
- Support services and/or alternative education for potential dropouts.
- Continuing education services designed to address educational needs of school-age dropouts.

Testimony

Time on task is generally recognized as a key ingredient of educational success. In light of this, excessive absenteeism and dropping out all-together are indeed serious educational problems. Nationally, tendencies in this direction appear to head the list of concerns expressed by high school administrators: absenteeism, class cutting, and the use of drugs were said to be at least moderate problems in their schools by over 30 percent of high school administrators interviewed in a recent study (National Center for Education Statistics, 1982). These three areas of concern led the list of discipline problems in the schools.

Hawaiians, too, have expressed concern about absenteeism and the rate of high school drop outs. Alu Like, Inc., for example, prepared the following testimonial summary of some of their work with respect to absenteeism.

> Student absenteeism is seen as a significant variable in the quality of the Native Hawaiian's educational experience. In the 1960's and early 1970's the Queen Liliuokalani Children's Center found that test scores and absenteeism indicated that alienation and lack of success in schools were prevalent among many Native Hawaiian students. An Alu Like, Inc. (1979) study also found student absenteeism to be a significant problem. At public schools with 40 percent or more Native Hawaiians, the absenteeism rate was an average of 43 days, almost a quarter of the school year.

Other individuals who have expressed concerns in these areas have offered testimonial opinions such as the following:

> Our Native Hawaiian children, even in high school, have a high absentee record when compared with that of their peers of other ethnic backgrounds. It is not because they are incapable of educational achievement . . . Rather, it is, as I see it, their failure to have developed earlier in their lives the discipline and social values necessary to guide them through the education process. (Juanita Mundon, Bill 916, p. 207)

> The question arises, "Why should Native Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians be interested in alternative schools?" Well, first of all, because our kids are there. According to the 1976-1977 ethnic breakdown of student withdrawals on Hawaii Island, 24.7 percent of the total student population who are dropping out of school are Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians. Relative to other ethnic groups at Hilo High School alone, 25.9 percent of the Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiians are withdrawing from school. What is even more alarming is that at the intermediate level, 33.3 percent of the students who are dropping out at Hilo Intermediate are Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians. The statistics on the potential drop-out rate for Hawaiians are even more dismal, especially at the intermediate level where at Hilo Intermediate the potential dropout rate rose as high as 40 percent for Native Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians for 1976-77 school year. (George Kahumoku, Bill 857, p. 30)

Social Indicator Data

Regardless of explanations offered for absenteeism, truancy, and dropping out among Hawaiian youth, social indicators suggest that all of these may be significant areas of concern with respect to Hawaiians in the public schools.

Absenteeism. Relatively recent developments in computer-managed attendance record keeping for selected schools in the State of Hawaii public school system has made detailed information about attendance, broken down by ethnic group, available for the first time.

Table 57 provides an analysis of "excessive absences" at selected public Intermediate and High Schools for the 1980-1981 school year. These 30 schools, the only schools currently using computer-managed attendance record keeping, represent about 13 percent of the 225

TABLE 57

Excessive Absences at Selected Public Intermediate and High Schools, 1980-1981[1]

Schools By District	Students With Excessive Absences (% of Total)	School's Hawaiian Representation (% of Total)	Percent Of Students With Excessive Absences Who Are Hawaiian	Percent Of Hawaiians Who Have Excessive Absences	Number Of Hawaiians With Excessive Absences
Honolulu District					
1.	48.2%	10.9%	17.9%	79.7%	185
2.	47.3%	14.9%	19.2%	60.8%	132
3.	43.6%	16.4%	22.9%	60.8%	261
4.	43.2%	19.8%	32.9%	71.6%	184
5.	43.2%	11.2%	16.8%	64.9%	96
6.	36.2%	13.1%	19.4%	54.1%	119
7. *	21.6%	21.4%	34.3%	34.6%	36
8. *	14.9%	17.6%	48.6%	41.0%	34
9. *	9.3%	7.9%	16.9%	20.0%	13
Central District					
1.	27.2%	9.1%	12.6%	37.7%	52
2.	27.2%	7.3%	12.7%	37.7%	30
3.	24.1%	11.2%	15.5%	33.5%	62
4.	17.8%	21.2%	28.4%	23.9%	56
5.	33.8%	6.2%	8.3%	13.8%	29
Leeward District					
1.	60.5%	43.5%	48.2%	60.5%	503
2.	53.8%	59.0%	60.4%	55.2%	385
3.	51.9%	21.2%	23.7%	58.1%	247
4.	33.2%	13.7%	21.7%	52.4%	164
5.	30.5%	9.8%	13.8%	42.6%	89
6. *	29.4%	41.9%	49.3%	34.6%	132
7. *	14.8%	11.4%	16.0%	20.9%	24
Windward District					
1.	51.9%	36.6%	42.2%	59.8%	349
2.	34.4%	17.0%	27.4%	55.3%	208
3.	28.5%	15.6%	18.1%	23.0%	72
4. *	27.7%	35.2%	49.0%	38.6%	167
5.	15.9%	33.2%	39.7%	19.0%	94
6. *	15.3%	20.5%	27.6%	20.6%	48
Neighbor Islands					
1.	33.5%	25.5%	35.6%	46.8%	160
2. *	17.7%	32.2%	38.8%	21.4%	40
3.	11.0%	27.4%	39.6%	15.9%	65
Total 33.1%	19.9%	27.9%	46.4%	4,036	

[1] These 30 schools are on a computer-managed attendance system; excessive absence is defined as 20 or more unexcused absences from a class or from school during one semester.

* Denotes Intermediate Schools.

Source: State of Hawaii Department of Education, 1981-1982.

total number of public schools in the state. The definition of excessive absence used in compiling these statistics centered on the number of days any given class was missed during the school year. Specifically, if a student had 20 or more unexcused absences from at least one class during a semester, that student was labeled as one having an "excessive absences" record. Included in this category, then, were students who may have routinely skipped one particular class as well as students who regularly skipped all or several of their classes during the course of the year.

In examining the data in Table 57 it can be seen that the percentage of students who found themselves classified as having an excessive absence record ranged from a low of 9.3 percent at a Honolulu District Intermediate School to a remarkable 60.5 percent at a Leeward High School. Moreover, the figure for all thirty schools stood at 33.1 percent, indicating that about one-third of the nearly 44,000 students who attended these particular secondary schools might be classified as having attendance problems.

Looking at the performance of Hawaiian students within the overall context of educational settings in which substantial absenteeism occurs, it can be seen that they generally led all others in this respect. For example, at all 30 schools considered, Hawaiians were overrepresented among the students having a record of excessive absences. That is, the percentage of students having attendance problems who were Hawaiian was higher than would be predicted on the basis of the percentage of Hawaiians attending the school. This situation was such that, on an overall basis, Hawaiians constituted 19.9 percent of the students enrolled in these 30 schools; however, they accounted for 27.9 percent of the students having records of excessive absence.

Additionally, it can be seen that substantial percentages of the Hawaiians at any given school had sufficient absences to be classified as having excessive absence. The range in this respect was from 13.8 percent at a Central District High School to a substantial 79.7 percent (N=185) at a Honolulu District High School. Overall, meanwhile, nearly half of the students enrolled in these schools, a total number of 4,036 Hawaiian youngsters, were classified as having excessive absences.

The data offered in Table 58 provides additional analysis of the excessive absence phenomenon by grade level. It can be seen that absences tend to become more frequent occurences as students progress through the secondary schools. With Hawaiians, for instance, the problem grows from one involving 21.9 percent of the Hawaiian students in these 30 schools in seventh grade, to the point where 59.0 percent of Hawaiian seniors find themselves classified as having records of excessive absences. It can also be noticed that Hawaiians seem to start skipping school at a younger age, but that others apparently join them by the end of high school. This trend can be noticed in that Hawaiians in the seventh and eighth grades accounted for about 40 percent of the students having excessive absence records; however, by senior year they only accounted for 22.8 percent of this group.

A report issued by Alu Like (1979) looked at

TABLE 58

Excessive Absence by Grade Level
At Selected Public Intermediate and High Schools, 1980-1981[1]

Grade	Students With Excessive Absences (% Of Total)	Schools' Hawaiian Representation (% Of Total)	% Of Students With Excessive Absences Who Are Hawaiian	% Of Hawaiians Who Have Excessive Absences
7	14.9%	26.8%	39.3%	21.9%
8	22.2%	26.1%	40.2%	34.1%
9	29.7%	22.1%	33.3%	44.7%
10	34.3%	18.8%	28.6%	52.3%
11	35.7%	17.0%	24.6%	51.8%
12	44.1%	17.0%	22.8%	59.0%

[1]These 30 schools are on a computer-managed attendance system; excessive absence is defined as 20 or more unexcused absences from a class or from school during one semester.

Source: State of Hawaii, Department of Education, 1981-1982.

school attendance from a slightly different perspective. Examining results from the 1978-1979 school year, Alu Like researchers did not have the benefit of computerized attendance records; hence, they were forced to do a painstaking review of files at each school. Rather than look at the attendance of Hawaiians in all 225 public schools, they chose to concentrate on 32 schools at which the percentage of Hawaiians in the student body equalled or exceeded 40 percent. All told they examined the records of 8,764 Hawaiian youngsters, or about one-fourth of the Hawaiians estimated to be enrolled in public schools.

A summary of the Alu Like findings is offered in Table 59. Broken down by school district it can be seen that, given the schools selected for the study, Hawaiians accounted for just over half of the regular as well as the special education students in these schools with comparatively high percentages of Hawaiian enrollment. Attendance for special education students was generally poorer than for regular students: 44 percent of the Hawaiian special education students had records of excessive absence as contrasted with 35 percent of the regular Hawaiians students.

Viewing these findings in light of the 46.4 percent of Hawaiian students found to have records of excessive absence at the 30 schools with computer-managed attendance record-keeping, it should be noted that most of the schools with computer-managed systems are high schools, and those that are not are intermediate schools. Since attendance is generally better for students in lower grade levels, it is not surprising to find that the Alu Like study reported a lower percentage of Hawaiian students with records of excessive absence—only 8 of the 32 schools studied were secondary level schools. Even so, the school with the best attendance record, an elementary school, had 12.8 percent of its Hawaiian students with records of excessive absence. In fact, most of the elementary schools fell into the 15 to 25 percent range, indicating that attendance problems among Hawaiians do start in the early grades.

Dropout Rates. Identifying the number of students who drop out of the public schools in Hawaii has always been complicated by the fact that there is a generally recognized discrepency between the number who complete the Department of Education's withdrawal forms when they choose to drop and those who merely "disappear." Furthermore, accurately estimating the problem of school dropouts is complicated by the presence of students in the system who have extreme records of absence from school. For example, would a student who misses more than half of the school days in a year be considered a participating student, or a dropout? Under existing definitions such students are considered to be enrolled as participating students, but obviously such students would not be expected to make acceptable educational progress. And in fact, these types of students tend to be the ones who are retained in grade level (c.f., Ong, 1980).

In light of the above problems with respect to dropout rates as an educational indicator,

TABLE 59

Incidence of Excessive Absences by School District for Regular and Special Education Hawaiian Students at Public Schools with 40% or More Hawaiian Students, 1978-1979

School District	Number of Schools Evaluated	Total Students	Hawaiian Students	Hawaiian Students With Excessive Absences #	%	Total Special Education Students	Hawaiian Special Education Students	Hawaiian Students With Excessive Absences #	%
Honolulu	1	543	175	39	22.3	25	12	4	33.3
Windward	7	2,240	1,459	292	20.0	319	190	81	42.6
Leeward	8	7,922	3,969	1,822	45.9	572	299	138	46.2
Maui	5	920	511	135	26.4	96	36	11	30.6
Molokai	4	1,409	904	315	34.8	61	50	26	52.0
Hawaii	7	3,824	1,746	467	26.7	283	161	69	42.9
TOTAL	32	16,858	8,764	3,070	35.0	1,356	748	329	44.0

Source: Alu Like, *A Report on Absenteeism in Public Schools which have 40% or More Native Hawaiian Students*, July 1979.

two studies of the rate of withdrawals of Hawaiian students found them to be within expected limits. The first of these was an in-depth study of the overall performance of Hawaiians in the public schools conducted by Kellet Minn of the Department of Education for The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate Extension Education Division (Minn, 1977). Minn's conclusion with respect to dropout rates was as follows.

> The data discloses that Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian students were not dropping out of school. For example, one (.2%) of the 422 dropouts in the state was a Hawaiian student. Although 54 (12.8%) of the 422 dropouts in the state were Part-Hawaiian, it should be noted that Part-Hawaiian students made up 16.6% of the total student population in the public schools. The proportion of Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian students who dropped out was proportional to the state as a whole, i.e., .2% (55 students) of the Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian students dropped out as compared to .2% (422 students) who dropped out statewide. (p.1)

rates at selected public schools with 40 percent or more Hawaiian students. The absence data were presented above, while information about withdrawals from school is offered in Table 60. This Table includes information from the July, 1979 report along with the percentage of Hawaiian students in each school district for the 1980-1981 school year, data that was added to the original table. It can be seen that for the way in which withdrawals from school were defined for this indicator, the incidence of withdrawals among Hawaiians was generally no more common than would be expected on the basis of the number of Hawaiians in each district. In short, the findings confirmed the conclusions from Minn (1977): it tends to appear that dropping out of school is not a major problem for Hawaiians.

The most recent information available for consideration in the present needs assessment study was supplied by the State of Hawaii Department of Education for the 1980-1981 school year. Specifically, data from the Student Information Services Branch regarding student movement with respect to the public school

TABLE 60

Ethnic Breakdown of School Withdrawals for Each District in the Public School System, 1977-1978

School Districts	Percent Hawaiian Students[1]	Total Withdrawals	Hawaiian/ Part Hawaiian		All Other Ethnic Groups	
			Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Honolulu	14.8%	136	17	12.5%	119	87.5%
Central	9.1%	145	12	8.3%	133	91.7%
Leeward	23.4%	68	18	26.5%	50	73.5%
Windward	28.0%	21	2	9.5%	19	90.5%
Hawaii	30.4%	76	22	29.0%	54	71.0%
Kauai	23.1%	28	7	25.0%	21	75.0%
Maui	31.3%	45	10	22.2%	35	77.8%
State Total	20.4%	519	88	17.0%	431	83.0%

[1] Hawaiian representation shown here is for 1980-1981 school year.

Source: Alu Like (1979), p. 8. Data provided by the Student Information Services of the State Department of Education, May 1979. Also: Charles Clark, Bill 916, 180-181.

In addition, it was noted that the incidence of dropouts did not vary remarkably across Districts; plus, dropping out was a phenomenon that occurred primarily at the high school level.

The second study was conducted by Alu Like in 1979 as part of their analysis of absence

system seems to provide the possibility of a more realistic estimate of the number of Hawaiian students who leave the public schools and who do not, apparently continue in other educational settings. Table 61 shows the number of Hawaiians for four different categories of withdrawal from the public

schools for the 1980-1981 school year that might be considered to be "drop-outs." As explained by Department of Education officials the four groups can be defined roughly as follows:

1. **Dropouts**: students who have left school for reasons other than those offered on the Department's withdrawal form (Form 4140); these are students who were clearly enrolled and attending school at some point but who discontinued.
2. **No shows**: Students who, on the basis of the previous year's records were expected to enroll in school, but who never showed up on any Department records at any school.

TABLE 61
Number of Hawaiian Student Withdrawals From Public Schools by District, 1980-1981

District	Number of Hawaiian Students	Percent Hawaiian Students	Droputs	No Shows	Dropout For Cause[1]	Other Withdrawals	Total	Droput Rate
Honolulu	5,880	14.8%	22	37	12	120	191	3.3%
Central	3,062	9.1%	18	10	1	21	50	1.6%
Leeward	7,143	23.4%	12	41	8	134	265	3.7%
Windward	5,769	28.0%	15	12	1	75	103	1.8%
Hawaii	5,662	30.4%	4	29	6	59	98	1.7%
Maui	4,144	31.3%	5	26	10	46	87	2.1%
Kauai	1,763	23.1%	1	6	3	19	29	1.6%
TOTAL	33,423	20.4%	77	161	41	474	852	2.6%

[1] D.O.E. form 4140 withdrawals.
Source: State of Hawaii Department of Education, 1982.

3. **Dropout for Cause**: Students whose reason for withdrawal was covered on the department's withdrawal form; reasons include illness, disability, employment, transfer to alternative education setting, and family court action.
4. **Other Withdrawals**: Withdrawals not covered in the above categories (e.g., enrollment in the armed services, marriage, etc.), but reasons other than transfering to a private school or moving out-of-state.

Clearly, dropout status is far from being a black-and-white issue. Nevertheless, it can be seen that dropping out as defined here varied substantially in its rate of occurence across school districts. For example, the highest rate noted was for the Leeward District, an area that includes several major Hawaiian communities that tend to be leaders with respect to many social and educational problems. At the same time, though, other districts with greater percentages of Hawaiian students had markedly lower dropout rates. In summary, the figures presented here probably define the upper limit of the dropout problem. That is, it is unlikely that there are **more** dropouts than those identified in Table 61. Accepting this approach, then, it might be suggested that less than three percent of the Hawaiian students in the public schools completely withdraw from school. This means a total number of dropouts of less than 1,000 students. While this number may seem very manageable in an absolute sense, one must not forget students whose absence patterns are so extreme that they too could, for all practical purposes, be treated as having "dropped out."

Social Science Analysis

While analyses of attendance data leave little question that absence from school may be a major educational problem among Hawaiian youth, it may also be true that official statistics are not necessarily completely accurate reflections of reality. Formulation of such an hypothesis is based on findings from ethnographic studies. Specifically, Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan (1974) reported that going to school was the highlight of the lives of the Hawaiian adolescents they talked to—not necessarily for the educational opportunities it afforded, but for the opportunities for peer

interaction. As Gallimore et al. described it, the situation was as follows:

> Devoting only one chapter to a discussion of peer and school experience would likely impress our youthful informants as underemphasizing the most interesting aspects of their lives. From what they told us and what we observed, it is clear that for the overwhelming majority, peer contacts (in or out of school) are preferred to all their other aspects of experience, as they conceive it.
>
> Although school is regarded as important preparation for employment, the day-to-day motivation for attendance is clearly the opportunity to interact with peers. Aside from academic matters, which may be grim and unrewarding at times, school is a "free" opportunity for peer contact. No one needs permission to go to school; they are "supposed to go." Class-changing times and lunch periods and even some class sessions are times for talking with friends. One girl who said she hated school work also made clear she preferred attending classes to staying home. She insisted that there was nothing she would rather do than attend school, because all her friends were there, and there was no one her age at home and nothing to do except housework. Even those who are officially listed as truant, "dropouts," or "pushouts" are often actually on the school grounds, or nearby, waiting for times when they can mingle freely with their friends; they are called the "drop ins" by school officials (MacDonald and Gallimore, 1971) and are a source of considerable annoyance to some teachers and administrators. (pp. 165-166)

In short, even students who have records indicating excessive absence may actually be present at school, although not attending classes regularly. This might suggest that families and educators may be surprised to discover that about half of the Hawaiian students in public schools have records that are classified as "excessive absence." That is, the perception of absence from school may not be as pervasive as the "reality" as measured under Department of Educaton definitions of excessive absence.

A slightly different perspective on school absence can be drawn from available records on students enrolled in alternative education programs. In this case The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate has worked in conjunction with the State of Hawaii Department of Education in developing, staffing, and operating two alternative high school programs, the vast majority of whose students have been of Hawaiian background. Now, one expectation of alternative education might be that attendance would improve in light of the specialized environment, the outreach counseling efforts of in-culture specialists, and the vastly different curriculum. On the other hand, it could also be that students who find themselves in alternative education programs are the type who are so far beyond the typical expectations of school personnel, that even periodic attendance would be considered a major improvement.

Table 62 shows the enrollment, overall attendance rates, and percent of students with excessive absence records (as defined by the State Department of Education) during the period 1977-1982. In general, it can be seen that these alternative high school programs served a very limited number of students who typically missed one out of every five to one out of every three school days, with the vast majority of students missing more than 20 school days a year. In short, assignment to alternative education did not produce startling changes in school attendance of the type that bring students within "normal" limits. This is not to say that bringing a student from an attendance rate of say 75 percent to a rate of 30 percent is not startling; it does indicate, though, that time-on-task considerations are very important to consider in alternative education situations, because there does appear to be a significant problem.

The enormity of the attendance problem with some students is suggested by the following excerpt from an assessment of educational needs of youth on Molokai (Office of Program Evaluation and Planning, 1979; Report #78-79:36).

> The attendance (absence) rate of students has been and is a crucial problem. For students currently enrolled in the alternative school (N=39) an analysis of their past four years of attending school reveals the following:
>
> • Over 50% of the students were absent from school the equivalent of **one**

full year or more out of the four.

- Over 1/4 of the students were absent from school the equivalent of at least 1/2 full years or more (6 semesters) out of the year.
- Three students (7.3%) were absent from school the equivalent of **two full years** or more out of the four.
- During the present year in the alternative program, 21 of 39 students (53.8%) have been absent the equivalent of one day or more every week. (p. 11)

Obviously, absence patterns of this magnitude severely undermine the formal educational process.

- Depending on the type of school (i.e., public versus private) and any denominational affiliation . . .
- Religious studies courses or other activities designed to enhance spiritual values.

Testimony

While the spiritually-related educational needs of Hawaiians enrolled in various church-affiliated private schools are undoubtedly of prime importance to those who operate these schools, a broader religious/spiritual issue that may affect all Hawaiians has to do with freedom to practice the traditional Hawaiian religion.

TABLE 62

Absence Rates and Percentage of Students With Excessive Absences[1] at Two Alternative High School Programs, 1977-1982

	Alternative Program #1			Alternative Program #2		
School Year	Number of Students	Overall Absence Rate	% With Excessive Absences	Numer of Students	Overall Absence Rate	% With Excessive Absences
1981-82	13	NA	NA	17	22.0%	70.6%
1980-81	18	27.1%	90.0%	24	23.3%	75.8%
1979-80	20	29.5%	80.0%	29	NA	93.0%
1978-79	27	17.8%	63.0%	39	NA	79.4%[2]
1977-78	34	31.5%	94.1%	(SEE 1978-1979[1])		

[1] Excessive absence = 20 or more unexcused absences during the school year.

[2] Attendance for this evaluation examined the three previous school years as well as the 1978-79 school year.

NA - Not Available

Source: The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice P. Bishop Estate, Office of Program Evaluation and Planning, Reports: 78-79: 36; 79-80: 8; 80-81: 11; 80-81: 19; 81-82: 2; 82-83: 1.

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: Alienation

Condition 5: Spiritual Values and Practices

Condition Summary

From a variety of denominational perspectives Testimonial Data suggest a need for spiritual revival and renewal. Of particular significance to Hawaiians is a need for freedom to follow traditional religious practices.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Ethnic studies courses in which traditional religious beliefs and customs of indigenous people are studied.

A variety of individuals have testified regarding infringements on Hawaiians in the area of religious practice. One example is that of Arthur Chun:

> It may not be believable by the people of America that there is religious infringement on Native Indians, on Native Alaskans, and Native Hawaiians, and that this infringement comes from a lack of a definite policy, from a lack of access to sacred sites, and interference in religious events. Now, we have seen this occur in the last year or two when the Hawaiians in their spiritual expressions tried to get to Kahoolawe, where sacred sites are located. We have seen this in the Indian efforts, that they have tried to get to their sacred sites and cemeteries that

are within Federal jurisdiction, and they were unable to do so. And, we have seen this in the Eskimos being non-consulted when rules regarding their hunting of whales were established . . .

In this little area, in this little village, we saw beginnings of the breakdown of the Hawaiian religious system, which continues to this day. Sad but because and partly from that breakdown of the religion, began the shattering of their identity as proud individuals of a very proud race. And so, when your resolution someday is passed, the Hawaiian people again may be able to rise and exercise their choice, whether they wish to live in the fashion of their forefathers or whether they wish to live in the system of the Western World. (Bill 857, pp. 90-91)

A similar perspective was expressed by Gordon Piianaia, Coordinator of the Hawaiian Studies Institute at The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate, in his 1978 testimony regarding Senate Joint Resolution 102:

While Christianity has given many within the Hawaiian community new and diverse religious involvements, it has also been a major contributor to the loss of many traditional Hawaiian beliefs. Along with these losses also went much of the rich heritage that abounded throughout these beautiful islands. Today many of the young Hawaiians, myself included, have had to seek and learn about the rich Hawaiian heritage that once was evident and practiced here. Fortunately, there are elders who apply traditional beliefs, and the emotions which relate to such beliefs, that have not been eradicated the past 200 years and are still linked to the total environment. These individuals have made their choice. Likewise, I want the same freedom of choice. Religious beliefs are an integral part of the Hawaiian culture, tradition, and heritage and are absolutely irreplaceable if we are to perpetuate and preserve what we love. Yes, I support Senate Joint Resolution 102, but I felt and thought that the first amendment of the United States constitution was guaranteed to all peoples. For myself, I again only ask for respect of my beliefs. For my children, who are part-Hawaiian, I ask that they have the freedom of choice when they grow up to choose their own religion. (Senate Joint Resolution 102, pp. 74-75)

As both of these comments imply, it appears that preserving enough of traditional religion to enable youth of today to have freedom of choice with respect to their religious practices will require special educational programs involving Hawaiian *Kupuna* or elders sharing what they know in these areas. A key element of this revival effort may be preservation of material that was here-to-fore exclusively oral. For example, Rubellite Johnson (1982) recently translated the first two cantos of the *Kumulipo*, the Hawaiian Hymn of Creation. Her involvement in this task led to a personal spiritual reawakening which she would like other Hawaiians to pursue:

'I looked far afield and read deeply in many, many different sacred literatures and found the universality in the Kumulipo . . .

'If you apply this (the knowledge contained in the Kumulipo) to the whole world's problems, you can't beat what the Hawaiians did . . .

'I found out that the worst thing you can do is hold a grudge and maintain resentment against the person you think is against you. It's too easy to have a grudge, an excuse to blame others. Too easy . . .

'For a long time, I held this philosophy of being the victim. And as long as I did hold that philosophy I was the victim. Finally, I saw that I didn't have to be, that I only had to change my idea about myself . . .

[Then, in offering recommendations to other Hawaiians, she concluded:] ' . . . unless you can forgive that, you'll always be there with that hurt. You have to unload the burden, the things that depress you, one at a time, until the whole thing is cast off.

'Then your life begins to fall into good hands, your own, once you are in possession of yourself . . .

. . . 'Regain possession of yourself, the confidence in yourself, first. Then you've got something to hang onto which has nothing to do with land or money. It's spiritual strength.' (Cooke, 1982)

Social Science Analysis

A very limited search with respect to this topic produced the following analysis of loss of religion as it affects today's Hawaiians:

> Religion is another key in which the traditional Hawaiian culture has been lost if one considers the complex beliefs and extensive customs which helped to maintain the social fabric. Not all of the beliefs, and certainly not the emotions which relate to such beliefs, are extinct. People who traditionally made their living from the sea and from farming the hillsides of the islands, to this day relate closely to the natural environment which they skillfully utilized. While people of other than Hawaiian backgrounds may have similar relationships and similar skills in fishing, food gathering around shorelines, or farming, Hawaiians, through traditions which have not yet totally disappeared, extend their ties with the natural environment to the supernatural in their own special manner. The sea, the beach, the mountains—the total environment—are linked importantly to the lives of the people. There are many places of special significance; sacred spots in the hills, burial grounds by the sea, valleys and mountains and other landmarks. Meanings and symbolisms in nature are known and still taught—though often incompletely—by the older generation members to youngsters who are interested or who just overhear the stories of their elders. The man-nature dichotomy of Western cultures just does not exist in the same manner for those who participate in the Hawaiian culture system. But the relations to nature and to the supernatural which were all part of one complex of beliefs and practices have been extensively the target of continuous questioning and criticism of a missionarizing and a culturally divergent majority. This has driven much of the traditional knowledge and values underground, if not made them hazy and extinct for a large number of christianized Hawaiians. (Meretzki, 1974, p. 49)

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: School System Barriers

Condition 1: Teacher Training

Condition Summary

> Observers of the current teaching staff in the public schools believe teachers might be more effective if they could receive background training in Hawaiian cultural values and practices and/or training in the use of "culturally appropriate" curricula.

Potential Educational Interventions

- In-service or foundation teacher training focused on teaching cultural values and practices of indigenous peoples.
- In-service or foundation teacher training designed to develop skills in using "culturally appropriate" curricula.

Testimony

Consumers and observers have suggested that D.O.E. teachers might be better able to serve Hawaiian youth if they become more knowledgeable about Hawaiian culture and practices. For example:

> . . . we need to learn the special cultures of our land so inservice training to our teachers will be a great asset to all involved. This program could be expanded to the parents of the children as well so they in turn could be teachers for their own children. I believe each parent should be the first and foremost teachers for their children. Therefore, I strongly recommend early approval of this bill (Evelyn Olores, Bill 916, p. 215).
>
> There is a great need for teacher training, especially in Hawaiian cultural concepts. Teachers need to know why Hawaiian children react in certain ways (Henning, 1978c).
>
> Teacher training on Hawaiian cultural concepts would help a lot. The Metamorphosis staff offered to coordinate such training (Henning, 1978b).
>
> The public school system of education in Hawaii has simply not done enough to develop the individual potential of Hawaiian students. That is why it's important to sensitize our educators to a better understanding of the needs and problems of Hawaiian students (Keoni Agard, Bill 916, p. 92).

Social Science Analysis

Social scientists involved in the Hawaiian Community Research Project in Nanakuli during the 1960s attempted to improve the educational climate in classrooms by familiarizing the teaching staff with Hawaiian culture and history. In general, this intervention did little to change classroom interaction between teachers and students; thus, this general approach to the problem of cultural mismatch between teachers and students was seen to hold little hope for improving school achievement of Hawaiian youth (MacDonald and Gallimore, 1971).

The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate KEEP program has worked intensively for over a decade on developing teacher training methods and content material for use in developing public school teachers who can effectively work with Hawaiian youth.

The KEEP approach has been to heavily emphasize training of classroom teachers in specific behavior management and teaching strategy (Sloat, 1981). The trend has been away from cultural knowledge training and towards culturally-compatible skill training. The need seems to be for ever-increasing complexity of teacher skills:

> Considerable effort is being devoted to clear specification of desired performance. Training programs are much more tightly-organized, with well-defined and measureable objectives. This will allow for better assessment of training increases in skill or knowledge. Since the successful execution of the KEEP language arts program requires a complex array of teacher behaviors, there will be a wide variety of training research opportunities. (Sloat, 1981, p. 41)

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs
General Need Area: School System Barriers
Condition 2: Quality of Teaching Staff

Condition Summary

A major complaint about the current educational work force is the underrepresentation of Hawaiians in Professional Teaching, Administrative, and Planning positions. Other concerns include the generally declining quality of the teaching staff as well as assignment and transfer policies within the Department of Education that result in high turnover rates at certain schools.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Programs designed to encourage cultural minority members to seek careers in education.
- Affirmative action policies to correct ethnic imbalances in educational work forces.
- Personnel assignment and recruitment policies that produce a quality educational work force for all schools — rural, urban, and suburban.

Testimony

A major concern on the part of many Hawaiians is the severe underrepresentation of Hawaiians within the teaching force of the state. For example, William Waters described the situation with respect to school administrators:

> One of the things that we have seen in our public school system has been the decline of the Hawaiian leadership. Running through some of the statistics I have: In 1925 we had 177 schools throughout the State and these were headed by 50 Hawaiian principals or 35 percent; in 1935, we had 184 schools with 42 principals, down to 22 percent; in 1977, we have 235 schools and only 10 part-Hawaiian or Hawaiian principals for 2.3 percent (Bill 857, p. 73).

And later commented on the situation with respect to teachers:

> I have looked through the statistics since 1900 to about 1940. We had a large number—I've gone through the directory—of Hawaiian teachers. But, up to about 1940, just before World War II, the shift started to go the other way.
>
> So, we did have the input, in the past of Hawaiian teachers [but] . . . We lost that input into the system (Bill 916, p. 72)

Data from the 1979 school year, meanwhile, reveal the following:

In 1979 the State Department of Education had a staff of nearly 9,475 teachers, counselors, and principals. Of that figure only 660 (7 percent) were of Hawaiian ancestry (Winona Rubin, Alu Like, Hawaii Advisory Committee to U. S. Commission on Civil Rights)

In a more personalized account of the situation, in which he raised questions about generally low job status among Hawaiians, Senator Inouye reported on a visit to one of the High Schools in which Hawaiian youth predominate:

> Two years ago, I visited Nanakuli High School, located right in the middle of Hawaiian Homes land. Over 90 percent of the students were Hawaiian. Yet, their teachers were Chinese, Japanese, Haole, and one Filipino. The only Hawaiians in evidence were the janitors, the food service employees, the guards and maintenance crew. There was no Hawaiian history course except one that the Filipino teacher offered after school on a voluntary basis. Her text for the class was James Michener's *Hawaii*.
>
> I ask you to imagine how the Hawaiian child feels when he sees the adults of his race cleaning yards, collecting garbage, washing dishes—when he sees—that few are teachers, lawyers or doctors, even if all the pursuits are honorable and necessary tasks (Daniel Inouye, Bill 916, p. 80).

This account raises a second key concern: few teachers already involved in the state educational system are qualified to teach Hawaiian youth in matters related to their culture and history; moreover, individuals who may be qualified often cannot gain entry into the system. For instance, the Puwalu conference of 1978, convened as a means of obtaining the perspective of Native Hawaiians regarding problems they face in today's world, noted that "Many of our *kupuna* [elders] are unable to teach in the schools because they lack formal education degrees". The solution proposed with respect to this situation was to seek a change in the teacher classification system so that it would allow the *kupuna* to teach in the public school system with proper recognition.

This situation may be related to the centralized nature of the educational system in the State of Hawaii:

> Hawaii's centralized system in many ways tries to establish uniform rules and regulations. This often is detrimental to the welfare of minorities. There are few authorities on Hawaiian culture in the Hawaii public school system and if the Department of Education is given the final responsibility for hiring of personnel, you can be sure that the certification requirements will be that of a generalist in elementary and secondary education. There is a surplus of over 3,000 college [-educated] teachers waiting to be hired in our state. Hardly any are of Hawaiian ancestry or versed in the Hawaiian culture (William Waters, Bill 916, p. 68).

More specifically, the situation with respect to teachers of Hawaiian language was described as follows:

> Senator INOUYE: Are there any teachers of Hawaiian language who are of Hawaiian ancestry?
>
> Mr. CLEELAND: Yes, but there are also a lot of haoles. The problem at this time, as I see it, is that on this island and all the other islands, we are trying to get interest in the Hawaiian into all of the schools. Right now, we are getting enough people of part-Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian ancestry that are becoming qualified in the field, but they are unable to get into the schools, because you cannot move directly into a public school and take on a new line when the program is not established.
>
> . . . next year, I have two classes going. Since there are enough underclassmen, possibly the following year I can have a second year Hawaiian class.
>
> But, the problem is getting into the schools. If I had not been already in the school, I would not have been able to start this program. (Byron Cleeland, Bill 916, pp. 199-200)

This problem of lack of room for teachers who have new ideas was elaborated upon by historian Richard Rapson in his book *Fairly Lucky You Live Hawaii* (1980):

> The teachers have been in the system a

long time, and little new hiring appears to be in the offering for the near future. According to D.O.E. statistics of October 31, 1979, one-third of teachers were already at the top of the longevity-salary schedule. (There are nine regular steps in the salary schedule, with three years of service in step 9 required before moving onto the longevity steps. There are four longevity steps each requiring three years of service. Thus a teacher has to accumulate an equivalent of 21 years of teaching before reaching the top longevity step.) According to those same

TABLE 63

Percentage Comparison of Native Hawaiian Teachers with Native Hawaiian Students in Each Public School Which Has 40% or More Native Hawaiian Students, 1979

	Teachers			Students		
		Hawaiian			Hawaiian	
Name of School	Total	Number	Percent	Total	Number	Percent
HONOLULU						
*Lincoln	29	0	0.0%	543	175	32.2%
WINDWARD						
Hauula	29	5	17.2%	396	290	73.2%
Kaaawa	12	0	0.0%	129	69	53.5%
Kahaluu	24	1	4.2%	398	177	44.5%
Olomana	21	2	9.5%	65	49	75.4%
Pope	26	7	26.9%	387	347	89.7%
Waiahole	14	3	21.4%	197	115	58.4%
Waimanalo Elem.-Inter.	46	6	13.9%	668	412	61.7%
LEEWARD						
*Maili	52	4	7.7%	795	299	37.6%
Makaha	46	5	10.9%	840	416	49.5%
Nanaikapono	56	1	2.0%	931	446	47.9%
Nanakuli	17	1	5.9%	246	243	98.8%
Nanakuli High-Inter.	65	15	23.1%	1,154	757	65.6%
*Waianae	79	2	2.5%	1,370	528	38.5%
Waianae High	86	26	30.2%	1,693	730	43.1%
Waianae Inter.	47	10	22.3%	893	550	61.6%
MAUI						
Haiku	19	1	5.3%	342	154	45.0%
Hana High-Elem.	20	1	5.0%	298	230	77.2%
Keanae	2	1	50.0%	30	28	93.3%
*Paia	17	1	5.9%	181	72	39.8%
*Puunene	19	2	10.5%	69	27	39.1%
MOLOKAI						
Kaunakakai	18	3	16.7%	344	208	54.5%
Kilohana	8	0	0.0%	95	66	69.5%
Kualapuu	15	3	20.0%	273	166	60.8%
Molokai High-Inter.	37	2	5.4%	697	464	66.6%
NIIHAU	3	3	100.0%	59	59	100.0%
HAWAII						
Honaunau	16	1	6.3%	266	114	42.9%
Hookena	10	0	0.0%	122	89	73.0%
Kealakehe	51	4	7.8%	1,119	476	42.5%
Keaukaha	13	0	0.0%	277	233	84.1%
*Konawaena High-Inter.	63	5	7.9%	1,161	441	38.0%
Naalehu	16	0	0.0%	266	121	45.5%
Waimea Elem.-Inter.	33	5	15.2%	613	272	44.4%

* At the beginning of the 1978-79 school year, these six schools had 40% or more Native students. However, when these data were extracted at the end of the school year (June), the percentages were found to be lower than 40%, probably due to transfers, withdrawals, etc.

Source: Teacher data provided by the Personnel Office of the State Department of Education, 1979. Student data extracted from student records in each school, June 1979.

statistics, more than two out of every three teachers in the system (6,118 of 8,915) had reached one of the longevity steps. These figures suggest that, because more young teachers with new ideas might energize the schools, the absolute nature of the tenure principle and its absolute application could bear re-evaluation, both in the schools and the University. Such evaluation should, however, be carried out by educators, not politicians. (p. 99)

Social Indicator Data

The Department of Education for the State of Hawaii provided Alu Like with the data shown in Table 63. These data provide an indication of the extent of underrepresentation of Hawaiians on the teaching staffs of schools in the state that have 40% or more Native Hawaiian students.

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: School System Barrier

Condition 3: Supplementary and Support Services

Condition Summary

Limited services in the following areas have been cited as contributing factors to the limited educational achievement of Hawaiians: supplementary training in basic skills, tutoring and counseling services, culturally appropriate counseling services, cooperative working relationships between Social Service Agencies, Transportation Services, Career Planning and Information Services, and Pre-employment and Employment Services.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Supplementary and support services that effectively meet special student needs.

Testimony

Federally-legislated educational programs do serve some Hawaiian youth, yet observers still claim a need for even greater supplementary education and more numerous special services. For example, it has been noted that only about 3% of the 35,000 Hawaiian public school students benefit from ESEA Title I and emergency school aid funds. Because of the limited coverage in this and other related circumstances, there have been calls for further increasing services to Hawaiians. The following are a sample of comments:

'There is a critical need in the schools for supplementary training in the basic skills' (Henning, 1978c, p. 22).

'More tutoring and counseling services are needed' (Henning, 1978b, p. 6).

'Transportation for after school activities is a problem' (Henning, 1978c, p. 22).

There are a number of Hawaiian children in our area, and surely special programs such as reading and speech will really be an asset to all the Native Hawaiian children in our area (Evelyn Olores, Bill 916, p. 144).

I have found in my active participation in our schools special projects such as Act IV, is that our children need that extra attention to their reading and/or speech. Many times, it is even the education of parents to the different programs that give our children the extra boost to shove them ahead (Dona Kapu, Bill 916, p. 144).

Likewise, as you look to Federal programs—as you know the Federal programs are very categorical—they don't provide funds for all the Hawaiian children, those children who fall within the lower 25th percentile do have some so-called program benefits as provided by the program office. In those programs we found that [when] the Hawaiian youngsters were given a lot of individualized type of instruction reasonable progress could be expected.

The kind of model that I'm speaking about is the diagnostic prescriptive evaluated model, where a youngster is assessed and a program developed for him, then evaluated along the way and this cycle perpetuated. So, when we talk about programs, as I look to the Senate bill, I feel that this bill is a Godsend, and would really make an impact on our Hawaiian population (Henry Hashimoto, Bill 916, p. 199).

A more considered perspective has been offered by the Puwalu conference which dis-

tilled the thoughts of many Hawaiians regarding the needs of the Hawaiian community. In the area of education they suggested development and funding of three types of programs: (1) realistic career-oriented programs; (2) use of existing counseling services to implement new problem-solving techniques—for example, *Ohana* concepts; and (3) creation of alternative education opportunities of the modification of existing programs to meet special needs.

The importance and utility of special career-related programs in the schools is something that has been advocated by advisory councils to the Governor (e.g., Commission on Manpower and Full Employment and SETC Report to the Governor, 1981), as well as by individuals:

> . . . if we could teach the children this and we can motivate them and help them to feel the importance of education and really get educated this way, and if we have people coming over to Molokai telling them of the job opportunities and what's available, all these different things to excite them, I am sure, maybe 100 percent of our students there will feel this, will feel the motivation, and they will, maybe, desire to seek out higher education rather than be content with being just a Hawaiian student, living from day to day and, you know, really not knowing what exists outside Molokai (Dona Kapu, Bill 916, p. 145).

Social Indicator Data

Henning (1978a) in a profile of youth on the Leeward coast noted a problem in the area in terms of schools and agencies being unable to interact and build a support system for youth with special needs. She contacted a variety of special service agencies in the area and found few if any referrals from the schools. In fact, their question was: Where are the referrals?

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs
General Need Area: School System Barrier
Condition 4: Special Education/Individualized Educational Planning

Condition Summary

Youth with special educational needs often fail to receive optimal educational programming. In particualr, observers note a need for Alternative Education programs, for curricula that individualize instruction, for Special Reading programs, and for Gifted and Talented programs that include more Hawaiians.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Special educational programs that effectively meet a range of specific, individual educational needs.
- Alternative education programs for alienated youth.
- Effective reading programs.
- A fair, inclusive educational program for gifted and talented youth.

Testimony

At least some Hawaiian leaders have felt a need for special schooling for Hawaiian youth, and many Hawaiians seem to feel that alternative education programs will effectively meet unique educational needs among Hawaiians. For example, in a 1972 interview Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estate trustee, Myron Thompson, described the need for special schools:

> **Question**: Do you feel there is a need for a special school for Hawaiians, like The Kamehameha Schools?
>
> **Thompson**: I happen to think there is because our track record with Hawaiian youngsters in the public schools has not been good. It also seems to me that the Bishop Estate, which finances The Kamehameha Schools, should in light of Pauahi's intent make a contribution toward improving the educational system in our public schools as well as at Kamehameha since that's where most of the 68,000 part-Hawaiian children are enrolled. Enrollment at Kamehameha is only about 2,500.
>
> Doing that would improve the quality of education across the board for all kids. However, there seems to be a need for special schools for Hawaiian kids (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, August 24, 1972).

While much of what Mr. Thompson expressed a desire for has become reality as a result of Kamehameha's efforts in its Exten-

sion Education Division and Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP), more recent comments clearly indicate that alternative education is a desired addition to existing public school options. For example, Althea Kaohi commented as follows:

> Perhaps, I am one of the fortunate Natives that received schooling and became an educated person. My parents saw the value and strongly felt that the prerequisite to adult life was to be educated formally. However, today, that type of education may not be what my people need.
>
> As a Native Hawaiian who is a public librarian and Hawaiiana (culture) lecturer for the community college, I believe I know the needs and potential of my people. With more moneys alternative educational programs can be made available to the Natives, an informal education that reflects and relates to values once enjoyed by their ancestors. (Bill 916, p. 203).

Educators also seem to strongly favor development of alternative education for Hawaiians. At least Henning's needs assessments completed in 1978 for Alu Like Inc. included numerous comments from educators on the Leeward Coast, at Roosevelt High School, and on Molokai calling for alternative education options. The following are samples extracted from her reports.

> [The] DOE should be required to provide alternative programs. (1978a, p. 23)
>
> Kids are being hurt - so alternative programs are needed **now**. (1978a, p. 23)

In addition to those advocating alternative education programs for Hawaiian students who have been unable to cope with existing public school programming, many have expressed the opinion that alternative options should be available to all students. The following two comments from Henning's (1978) work and testimony from George Kahumoku elaborate on this point.

> Alternative programs should be for good students, too. (Leeward District)
>
> More study units and alternative classes are needed for **all** students, not just for students having problems. (Molokai)
>
> As a Native Hawaiian, I would like to say that we know some of the facts regarding our people and know that there is still much to be done and learned. In terms of alternative schools, there are some of us who feel that perhaps these alternative ideas will one day be incorporated into the present department of education system to a point where it isn't an alternative anymore but part of a system that can relate to our Native Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians.
>
> We are not asking the Federal Government for a handout but just a chance toward self-determination and social and economic self-sufficiency. For our "kupunas" (grandparents), "makuas" (parents, aunties, uncles) and the "keikis" (children) yet to be born, we see a long journey ahead and that all roads in the present system begin with education. We are also aware that though the Department of Education has begun some programs to meet the needs of our people through alternative schools, these programs are offered on a limited basis in terms of meeting the needs of our people. Education moneys are desperately needed so that native Hawaiians can begin on their journey towards self-determination and social and economic self-sufficiency. (George Kahumoku, Bill 857, p. 31)

The prevailing popularity among some Hawaiians of the alternative education notion is further exemplified by at least one person who would like the alternative options extended upwards to the community college level:

> We need, here on this island, again, a community college for the students that are graduating from schools like *Hale O Hooponopono*, to continue their higher education. It would focus, again, on their rights as native people, their rights of being instructed in not only cultural aspects of education, but also, with the contemporary society. Their needs to meet the highest academic standards so that our youngsters and the *"kupuna"* will be able to commingle and bridge the gap of education. (Arthur Chun, Bill 857, p. 94)

More general concerns about special education programming in the public schools have noted a need for individualized educational

planning for students with special needs:

> . . . I think we believe, from the perspective of the State of Hawaii Mental Health Division, that much needs to be done to more individually tailor the educational experience for all children of the State. We feel that this has been particularly lacking with populations with such special needs as the Native Hawaiian group. (Denis Mee-Lee, Bill 916, p. 135)
>
> [The] DOE assumes a student is functioning at his grade level. As he progresses in the system, he gets more and more lost. (Henning 1978a, p. 23)

Social Indicator Data

In spite of apparent consumer interest among Hawaiians in alternative education offerings, very few Hawaiians appear to be involved in such programs. Ikeda and Jackson (1980) made this point in a recent needs assessment, and what little data was available confirmed this conclusion. In fact, at The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate it has become clear that enrollments in the two alternative high school programs associated with The Schools have declined during the past five years by as much as 50 percent (Refer to General Need Area Alienation: Condition 4: School Attendance, Table 62).

In the area of services to students with special learning needs, it appears that little has been known to date about the distribution by ethnic group of students in public school special education programs. Ikeda and Jackson (1980), for example, reported on selected categories of special education diagnosis, presenting information about the number of Hawaiians receiving special education; but they were unable to provide information for other ethnic groups. In contrast to the sparseness of information about students at the low end of the continuum, they did provide an ethnic breakdown of students enrolled in elementary level programs for gifted and talented students in the public schools.

Table 64 presents an analysis of student enrollment by ethnic group both for special education programs as well as for programs for the gifted and talented. The information about special education participation was obtained from the State of Hawaii Department of Education for the 1980-1981 school year, while the gifted and talented program participation data is that offered by Ikeda and Jackson (1980). In general, it can be seen that Hawaiians were strongly overrepresented in the special education population and quite underrepresented in the programs for the gifted and talented. Specifically, they accounted for about 20.4 percent of the school population but 31.8 percent of the special education group and only 6.8 percent of the gifted and talented students.

Perhaps the most direct contrast with the Hawaiians were the Japanese. Their representation in the total school population was about 18.7 percent, but their participation in special education stood at 9.6 percent, while their representation in programs for the gifted and talented was 34.0 percent. Clearly, a contrast of this magnitude indicates some comparative educational needs on the part of Hawaiians; however, teasing out the reasons underlying such strong contrasts is indeed a complex task. For example, referral and evaluative practices undoubtedly play some role, as a review of distribution by ethnic group for various special education diagnosis reveals.

Table 65 presents a breakdown by ethnic group of students enrolled in Department of Education programs according to 16 different diagnostic labels. In general, it can be seen that the Specific Learning Disability category accounts for the vast majority of students enrolled in special education programs. Of these Hawaiians account for more than one-third of the public school students assigned this label, far more than any other ethnic group, and in marked disproportion to their representation in the school population. They also account for a disproportionate number of the students in the Mentally Retarded: Educable category (3.0 percent), another diagnostic grouping that might well serve as a "catch-all" in cases where educational problems are evident but where etiology is often very unclear.

Other categories in which Hawaiians were quite overrepresented included deaf (33.1 percent), deaf and blind (30.0 percent), and preschool learning impaired (31.0 percent). Again, the latter category may tend to be a convenience catch-all diagnosis that serves as a placeholder for latter categorization either as Specific Learning Disability or MR: Educable. It should also be noted that the disproportionate presence of Hawaiians in this

TABLE 64

Special Education[1] and Gifted and Talented[2] Enrollment in the Public Schools by Ethnic Group

ETHNIC GROUP	PERCENT OF TOTAL ENROLLMENT 1980-1981	NUMBER OF TOTAL EDUCATION STUDENTS	PERCENT OF SPECIAL EDUCATION ENROLLMENT	PERCENT OF SPECIAL IN SPECIAL EDUCATION	NUMBER OF ETHNIC GROUP TALENTED STUDENTS	PERCENT OF GIFTED AND TALENTED ENROLLMENT	PERCENT OF ETHNIC GROUP IN GIFTED AND TALENTED PROGRAMS
Caucasian	24.5%	3,104	25.2%	7.7%	1,103	32.2%	2.8%
Hawaiian	20.4%	3,908	31.8%	11.7%	233	6.8%	.7%
Japanese	18.7%	1,178	9.6%	3.8%	1,163	34.0%	3.8%
Filipino	18.7%	1,891	15.4%	6.2%	405	11.8%	1.3%
Chinese	3.8%	276	2.2%	4.4%	233	6.8%	3.7%
Samoan	3.2%	592	4.8%	11.1%	30	.8%	.6%
Hispanic	2.0%	436	3.5%	13.2%	31	.9%	.9%
Korean	1.8%	127	1.0%	4.2%	87	2.5%	2.9%
Black	1.4%	204	1.7%	9.0%	20	.5%	.9%
Other	5.3%	585	4.8%	6.7%	56	2.0%	.6%
Total	100.0%	12,301	100.0%	7.5%	3,417	100.0%	2.1%

Sources: [1]Data obtained from State of Hawaii Department of Education, 1982.

[2]Ikeda and Jackson, 1980; p. 85; 1979-1980 school year. **NOTE**: Gifted and talented programs are limited to elementary students; the DOE does not offer such programs at the secondary level.

TABLE 65

Percent Distribution by Ethnic Group for 16 Special Education Diagnoses, State of Hawaii Public Schools, 1980-1981

	PERCENT OF TOTAL SCHOOL ENROLLMENT	PERCENT OF SPECIAL EDUCATION ENROLLMENT	SPECIFIC LEARNING DISABILITIES (N = 7,396)	SPEECH IMPAIRED (N = 1,816)	MENTALLY RETARDED: EDUCABLE (N = 639)	MISSING DIAGNOSTIC LABEL (N = 639)	MENTALLY RETARDED: TRAINABLE (N = 359)	SEVERELY EMOTIONALLY DISTURBED (N = 359)	ORTHOPEDICALLY HANDICAPPED (N = 172)	HARD OF HEARING (N = 141)	PRESCHOOL LEARNING IMPAIRED (N = 139)	SEVERELY MULTIPLY HANDICAPPED (N = 136)	DEAF (N = 130)	MENTALLY RETARDED: SEVERELY (N = 84)	PARTIALLY SIGHTED (N = 27)	MENTALLY RETARDED: PROFOUNDLY (N = 27)	BLIND (N = 20)	DEAF AND BLIND (N = 10)
Percent of Special Education Enrollment			60.1	14.8	6.9	5.2	2.9	2.9	1.4	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.1	.7	.2	.2	.2	.1
Caucasian	24.5	25.2	13.7	30.5	18.5	34.7	24.8	39.6	25.0	21.2	20.1	22.1	20.0	15.5	27.6	14.8	25.5	20.0
Hawaiian	20.4	31.8	36.4	23.4	30.0	22.6	17.8	24.8	24.0	26.9	31.0	24.3	33.1	20.3	22.2	25.9	15.0	30.0
Japanese	18.7	9.6	7.6	16.2	8.3	8.1	17.0	7.2	17.4	12.1	7.2	8.1	10.0	26.2	7.4	18.5	15.0	20.0
Filipino	18.7	15.4	14.4	13.8	24.3	13.6	20.9	13.4	9.3	24.1	15.8	19.1	18.5	25.0	22.2	14.8	40.0	10.0
Chinese	3.8	2.2	2.0	3.0	1.8	1.7	5.0	1.7	4.1	.7	2.9	5.1	3.1	3.6	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.0
Samoan	3.2	4.8	5.2	2.8	8.5	3.8	5.8	1.1	5.8	5.7	2.9	2.9	3.1	1.2	3.7	7.4	0.0	0.0
Hispanic	2.0	3.5	3.9	2.3	3.5	3.3	3.3	3.6	4.1	3.8	4.3	5.1	3.8	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0
Korean	1.8	1.0	.8	1.7	.6	.6	1.1	2.2	2.3	.7	2.2	2.9	2.3	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.0
Black	1.4	1.7	1.6	1.4	1.5	3.3	1.1	1.9	0.0	1.4	5.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	5.3	4.8	4.6	5.0	2.8	6.3	2.8	4.5	7.0	4.2	8.6	10.3	4.7	6.2	14.8	3.1	0.0	10.0
Percent of School Enrollment			7.5	4.5	1.1	.5	.4	.2	.2	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	—	—	—

Source: Data obtained from State of Hawaii Department of Education, 1982.

category as contrasted with other ethnic groups is a matter worthy of further investigation. It may be that Hawaiian presence in preschool programs results in earlier diagnosis, or perhaps there are other explanations that can only be speculative at this point.

Social Science Analysis

While Hawaiians are substantially overrepresented among the students formally identified as in need of special education services, they also are a group who seem to have unique special educational needs stemming from their cultural background. This general issue—the mismatch between the natal culture of Hawaiians and the culture found in the schools (cf., Jordan & Tharp, 1979)—has been a primary topic of consideration among social scientists working in Hawaii. These unique culturally related academic needs are detailed in Chapter IV; however, the material under "Problems at the Interface," Condition 1 are particularly pertinent. This section considers teachers' perceptions of Hawaiian students, establishing the fact that they do indeed have major management problems with them stemming from their use of majority culture educational technology and methodology.

The following summary overview of Hawaiians in the educational system is offered as an introduction to the idea that students can have special educational needs—i.e., needs that require some alternative form of education—which do not fall within the categories normally used to classify students as "handicapped." This summary was presented by personnel from the Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP) at a national meeting.

> Hawaiian children do not, in general, prosper in the public schools. By the end of third grade, a great many Hawaiian children in the public schools are already well on the road toward school alienation; mostly this is because they have not learned to read. In the most recent statewide testing of fourth grade students on the Stanford Achievement Test, the modal score achieved by schools with predominantly Hawaiian children was in the tenth percentile. A failure to learn to read, of course, guarantees increasing school failure in the upper grades. Consequently, KEEP has set as its main goal the analysis and solution of the problem of teaching Hawaiian children to read.
>
> Why does the problem occur? Why don't Hawaiian children ordinarily learn to read? The difficulty cannot be attributed to a low general intelligence in the population. After one year in school, the children score within the normal range of I.Q. tests. Such data do not accord well with their reading scores. Other explanations are needed and KEEP was established to find these explanations and try to design solutions. (Sloat, Tharp, Gallimore & Au, 1978)

Aside from the strong interest expressed here regarding the culturally related academic needs of Hawaiians, it seems that social scientists have not closely studied other special education needs. For example, if one were looking for a new research question it could be: why does only 7.5 percent of the total school population become enrolled in special education? This question arises out of the fact that normative studies of the prevalence of various handicapping or special education conditions suggest rates of about 10 to 15 percent of any given student population as being in need of special education (cf., Payne, Kauffman, Brown, and DeMott, 1974). In fact, this prevalence range is exactly what Gallimore and Tharp (1976) found at KEEP. As they put it: "about 10 - 15% of KEEP children have serious intellectual/learning deficiencies that require special education." The fact that the public schools apparently find , identify, and serve a special education population that constitutes 7.5 percent of the school-age youth seems to raise questions about identification processes: i.e., are all the students who need special education services being helped?

A second aspect of this identification issue has to do with the disproportionate representation of various ethnic groups in the special education population. Hawaiians, for example, appear to be sharply overrepresented, particularly in the area of specific learning disabilities. One possibility may be that the diagnostic process is one that bows to a variety of social pressures, stereotypes, values conflicts, mismatches in cultural patterns, etc. such that Hawaiians find themselves "unfairly" placed in special education. Whatever the circumstances it appears that a close examination of the dynamics

associated with special education placement and service is in order.

Finally, a couple of specific situations relating to special educational needs of Hawaiians have been considered in reports from Alu Like and from The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate. First, in a report for Alu Like Henning (1979) noted that in 1974-1975 **no** children in the Leeward District, where Hawaiians represent about one-fourth of the student population, were seen by the Special Services team, while 672 children in the Central District and 1,201 in Honolulu District were provided services. The extent to which this is an isolated finding is at present unknown.

Secondly, numerous reports from The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate's Office of Program Evaluation and Planning (1978 through 1982) contain data which show that some Hawaiian students enrolled in alternative programs have needs for intensive specialized educational intervention which simply cannot be met in the alternative setting. Research into this situation revealed that some of these students had been identified at some point in their school career as handicapped, and had subsequently been "de-certified," prior to their assignment to the alternative education learning center. Others, however, progressed through their entire school careers without receiving the special services they obviously needed.

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: School System Barriers

Condition 5: School Policies: Promotion/ Retention and Grading

Condition Summary

In general, few students are retained in grade, at least during the Elementary years, and those who are may fail to show much educational progress. Moreover, inflated grading is such that parents and others remain unaware of how limited student skills can be.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Grading and promotion policies that result in accurate feedback to parents and effective education for youth.

Testimony

Two implicit school policies that many people recognize as being potentially, harmful for some students are "social promotion" — passing on students to the next grade whose skills are in fact inadequate for grade-level work; and community-standard grading, i.e., giving high grades for minimal work to students in problem schools simply because their performance, as limited as it might be, contrasts favorably with the woefully inadequate performance of their peers. Testimonial comments regarding these issues included the following:

> The present system of social promotion, which is regressive in nature and practice, has taken its toll on the Native Hawaiian child and his or her illiterate parent today. Funds and special programs with teachers who can relate to the Native Hawaiian child or adult can and will be a force for good in correcting this educational situation. The teaching of the Hawaiian language, Hawaiian culture, and instilling of Hawaiian values is essential to the well-being of the Native Hawaiian. (Margaret Apo, Bill 916, p. 44)
>
> Student Retention - Although the number of non-promoted students in this study was very small, making the results difficult to interpret, there was no evidence that the retention of students produced, for these students at least, the desired improvement in school achievement (Henning, 1978a).
>
> 'What we believe is happening in Waianae, what has evolved over the years, is the practice of evaluating kids compared to other kids in Waianae' . . .
>
> 'Parents were getting report cards with "S" for satisfactory, but kids were several years behind in their reading level.' (Billy Hauge in Ong, 1980a)

The issue of social promotion is one which the local media perceived as newsworthy. Ong (1980c), for example, reported the following findings from an investigation of social promotion in the public schools:

> A review by *The Honolulu Advertiser* of DOE retention figures of the past 12 years reveals:
>
> - The percentage of students retained (forced to repeat a grade) state-

wide in all grades has doubled from 1968 to 1979. In 1968, 2,146 students (1.3 percent of the June enrollment) were kept back vs. 4,443 students (2.6 percent) in 1979.

- The trend for retention is J-shaped, with most elementary-aged children being retained in either first grade or kindergarten because they are immature and need an extra year to catch up. Fewer youngsters are held back as they approach fifth and sixth grade, but retentions jump dramatically as students enter intermediate and high school.
- The largest group to be held back is grade 9 or 10. Last year the number of students in these two grades alone made up just under half of those retained.

One surprise that shows up in the DOE's statistics is the considerable degree to which elementary schools vary in their use of flunking. (p. A-1)

The article continued with an enumeration of the 31 elementary schools at which no students had flunked during the previous 3 years. Analysis of the factors underlying these outcomes revealed that promotion policies at the elementary level were by-and-large the purview of each principal since the Department had only very general guidelines. At the secondary level, meanwhile, explicit rules exist which link promotion to credits earned. As suggested by the above findings, this change in decision rules regarding promotion results in a sudden, sharp increase in the number of retentions.

In a second report Ong (1980d) presented evidence that linked retention rates at various public schools to absenteeism rates. For example, the rank order of high schools according to flunk rates showed the following percents of students being flunked: 19.3, 14.6, 14.0, 12.4, and 10.6. Corresponding absentee rates at these schools in the same order of presentation were: 18.0, 25.2, 17.8, 20.0, and 10.1. Department of Education personnel contacted and interviewed in connection with the article noted that these data indicated support for their observation that students who are chronically absent from school do tend to be retained in grade level.

Finally, a report from Vobejda (1982) indicates that some parents living on the Leeward Coast, a predominantly Hawaiian area of Oahu, have found the issue of social promotion and grade significant enough that they approached the Department of Education about initiating school reform. Specifically, a new grading system was initiated in Fall 1982 at two elementary schools. The intent of the system was to provide parents with explicit indications of what educators expect of students and detailed, timely reports of progress towards these goals. Evaluation of this change in school procedures is currently in progress.

Social Indicator Data

The information presented in Figure 33 shows the J-shaped function associated with the distribution of retentions in grade across grade levels for 1978-1979. It can be seen that retentions in grade primarily occurred at the secondary level, seventh grade and above. In this case the 3,935 retentions for these grades accounted for 88.6 percent of all retentions in grade. The 267 retentions in grades K and one, meanwhile, accounted for about 6 percent of the total number of retentions in grade, leaving 5.4 percent for grades two through six.

Social Science Analysis

Two studies among those reviewed touched on the subjects of social promotion and grade inflation. The first was a needs assessment conducted on Molokai during 1978-1979 for the Molokai Hawaiian Academy of Knowledge, an alternative high school program (Office of Program Evaluation and Planning, 1979). In brief, interviews with students, teachers, and parents as well as a review of school records revealed a list of 30 specific "Barriers to Learning" in the educational context studied. One of these was: "The practice of social promotion in early school years results in students with low level skills in the 3 R's."

The following passage gives an indication of the experiences of many of the students enrolled in the alternative education program, and it suggests actions for educators:

> The school achievement history of these students is interesting. On the basis of elementary school report cards, essentially all were doing satisfactory or better work in all instructional areas. However, teachers' comments about the students'

development were often negative; standardized achievement test scores were frequently depressed; and as pointed out earlier, absence rates were often high. It is hypothesized that the school reports to parents were frequently misleading to both parents and the children throughout their early school years and may well have promoted a distorted picture of learning. As if to reinforce this prediction, "reality shock" seemed to hit when students entered intermediate school. Ten students became immediate school failures in grade 7, another eight in grade 8, and seven or more during grade 9. Thirteen students did not have attendance problems until they entered grade 7. It might also be noted that seven students first experienced academic failure in grade 7 social studies.

If the hypothesis that these students received misleading information about their educational progress in the elementary school is true, and that they were then unable to cope with reality at the intermediate of high school level, then this barrier or learning block occurs (occurred) prior to high school. The program development task . . . is to address both the cause of the problem at the elementary level and also the trauma of failure that occurs at the upper school levels. (Office of Program Evaluation and Planning, Report No. 78-79: 36, p. 14)

The second study was an examination of ethnic and school differences in academic achievement at four major Oahu high schools (Wegner, 1977). One of the explanations offered for the school differences in achievement which were found noted a "cooling out" process that differently impacted on low-SES Hawaiians and Filipinos. This process was described in detail with a direct quotation under General Need Area: Socio-Economic Status, Condition 5.

Finally, a brief note on school retention as a means of remediation came from Port (1977). He examined the correlates of student performance on the Hawaii State Test of Essential Competencies (HSTEC), the recently developed competency examination that now must be passed by all high school graduates. Although his sample was small, and therefore limiting, he noted that "there was no evidence that the retention of students produced, for these students at least, the desired improvement in school achievement." In short, educational intervention with students who must be retained in grade may well have to be more than simply repeating a given sequence of instruction and study for a second time.

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs
General Need Area: School System Barriers
Condition 6: Funding

Condition Summary

The level of funding for education has been said to be relatively low on both a per capita and percent of State budget basis. Areas in which limited funding has been identified as a barrier include: Special programs for special groups, Purchase of instructional materials and equipment, Lowering the teacher-student ratio, Revamping and localizing the testing program, Communicating with parents about test results, Provision of Alternative Education and Hawaiian Studies, and Provision of Specialized Counseling Services.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Funding for special programs and services.

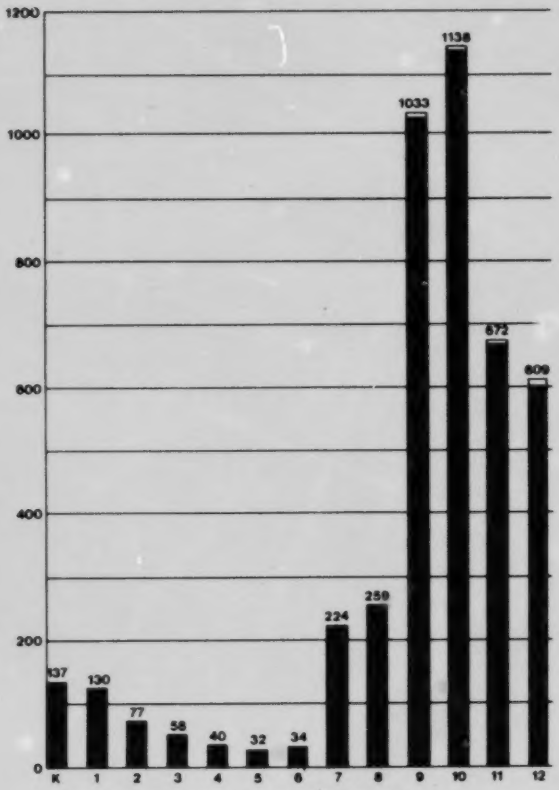
Testimony

Hawaiians very clearly see a lack of funds on the part of the State of Hawaii Department of Education as a major barrier to installation of the special educational programs they would like to introduce. For example, Paige Barber wrote the following in a special report to NIE in 1974 (National Institute of Education, 1974).

> About three years ago, the Congress of the Hawaiian People, concerned about the standardized system used in our public schools, approached the DOE, attempting to bring about some changes in the following areas:
>
> - Revamping the testing system to include ethnic and cultural diversities.
> - Developing supplemental local testing measurements.

FIGURE 31

Hawaii Public School Students Retained in Grade (June 1979)



Source: Honolulu Advertiser, February 21, 1980, p. A-1

- Developing a systematic way of testing to enhance a teachers understanding of where children were, or were not.
- Developing a training program for teachers to improve and/or develop skills in testing results interpretation.
- Developing a system of communication for parents so they could better understand what the mandatory tests could or could not do.
- Sensitizing teachers in their approaches, when using test results so that a child's self-image would be enhanced, as well as preventing parents from feeling that they didn't do **something** right.

After a couple of meetings, it was felt by Congress representatives that changes sought by the group would take a tremendous effort, primarily because revamping of the total system would be 'costly.' Cost issues for not changing were high-lighted continually, and the group, I am sure, channeled their energies elsewhere for the time being. (p. 1)

Funding has continued to be a concern on the part of active Hawaiians as the following testimonies indicate.

> In my opinion, S. 916 and the proposed amendments cited as the "Native Hawaiian Elementary and Secondary School Assistance Act," will provide the basic need to answer the special needs of our Native Hawaiians, and that is "finances." The Department of Education of the State of Hawaii has never had sufficient funds allotted to lower the pupil-teacher ratio in our public schools to a level that would allow classroom teachers to spend more time on a one-to-one basis with the problem children and slower learners in their classrooms to help them with their particular needs, and these children invariably include Native Hawaiians.
>
> Programs and curriculums have been developed for these children, but with 30 to 28 pupils per teacher, the classroom teacher can do only so much to help each child with his particular need without sacrificing the needs of the rest of the class.
>
> The 3 on 2 program has become controversial as a method of providing the special help needed by such children, although it has worked out well in those schools where the parents are supportive and sympathetic with the objectives of the program, and the teachers compatible with each other and devoted to the challenge of their assignments. The funds to be appropriated by this act would definitely help to provide a lower pupil-teacher ratio. (Juanita Mundon, Bill 916, p. 207)

Congressman AKAKA: You feel that this bill, as proposed, would be of great advantage to the Hawaiian children?

Ms. PADEKEN: I think so, very unique needs of the Native Hawaiian child. Frequently, the Department of Education just does not have the funding nor the manpower to begin developing special programs for a special group. Those

are some of the realities of the situation.

At this point, we just have to look to additional sources of funding such as the kinds of funds, as well as the purposes, that this particular bill sets out to accomplish. I believe that the Native Hawaiian community is willing to join in support with the Department of Education to try to develop these kinds of programs that will assist our Native Hawaiian children in the school system. (Georgiana Padeken, Bill 916, p. 42)

. . . Department of Education funds have been inadequate to provide important counseling services in the public schools to fill the needs of the Native Hawaiian children particularly . . . S. 916 will provide the funds for more and better counseling and other needed services to meet the educational needs of our Native Hawaiian children. (Juanita Mundon, Bill 916, p. 207)

DOE has been somewhat receptive to alternative programs; will offer some support, but won't fund them. (Henning, 1978a, p. 23 comment from a Leeward District educator)

More specifically to the point of Hawaiian studies in the schools, the Department of Education director of programs in this area recently noted that Hawaiian studies are currently offered in 77 out of 170 elementary public schools. His preferred budget figure for running programs of this type was cited as 1.5 million dollars over the next two years; however, the budget being requested by Budget Department staff is only $600,000 (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, August 1, 1982).

Social Indicator Data

The level of educational funding in Hawaii as contrasted with levels in other states appears to be a matter of some confusion. The teachers' union, Hawaii State Teachers Association, for example, suggested that funding in 1981 was such that Hawaii placed 35th in the nation with respect to per capita spending on education and 48th with respect to percent of state budget spent on education (Vobejda, 1980). Department of Education officials, however, disputed these findings noting that the indicators used were subject to misinterpretation because of the variety of ways in which cost figures can be computed. Their calculations suggested a ranking of 10th in the nation on per capita spending. Officials also noted that Hawaii's extremely high enrollment in private schools has to be acknowledged when looking at expenses on a per capita basis.

Social Science Analysis

Rapson (1980) recently gave his perspective as an historian regarding the educational system in Hawaii. While generally critical, he felt that funding, although a consideration due to its shortage, was **not** public education's major problem:

> Money for buildings, supplies, textbooks, and the like is insufficient. A good system needs adequate funding to pay for the best teachers, to supply adequate facilities, to foster special programs, and to constantly monitor, evaluate, and revivify the curriculum. Though financial support levels are currently falling and special areas are badly short of funds, I do not think money is the main problem. The state's past generosity yielded ambiguous results. The teachers today are, as a result of collective bargaining, generally well-paid. Many facilities are in bad shape yet they are not so primitive as to account for a great number of the problems outlined above. The schools, to be sure, need more governmental support, but more money in itself will not have much impact. (Rapson, 1980, p. 97)

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs
General Need Area: School System Barriers
Condition 7: Books and Materials

Condition Summary

Observers note a need for updating books and materials as well as for development of localized materials.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Development and purchase programs that yield books and materials that are up-to-date and appropriately localized.

Testimony

While one would expect, based on the

general level of concern about educational reform among Hawaiians, that localization of materials and books might be a prime consideration, it is a variable that drew only sparse comment.

In a report to NIE in 1974 (NIE Multicultural Task Force, 1974), Nancy Young described efforts at the time and the rationale behind development of careful, thoughtful "localizations" of books and materials:

> One of the primary objectives . . . is to improve education for Hawaii's culturally isolated students. We are attempting to develop multicultural, bilingual curriculum materials relevant to the lives of the children of Hawaii. Whereas Hawaii's school children traditionally and too often futilely have been taught basic skills through mainland produced textbooks, we are introducing into schools of the Department of Education materials based on the varied experiences, lifestyles, and values of the people of Hawaii.
>
> . . . materials are . . . developed with the intent of helping to promote the minority child's acceptance of himself and his own culture and to increase inter-ethnic understanding and acceptance of other cultures. In an atmosphere where a child is made to feel inferior because of his race, where what he learns bears little resemblance to his immediate environment, and where interracial hostilities exist, he cannot work to his capacity. Only in an encouraging psychological, social, and emotional environment can the child develop his intellectual capacities to the fullest. (p. 1)

Another theme that was expressed focused on use of the latest technology in serving needs of Hawaiian youth. Henry K. Lindsey has been particularly outspoken on this issue as the following testimony indicates:

> These funds should be channeled into those avenues which will spread the greatest benefits to the largest possible coverage so that whoever wants to learn will have the opportunity to learn.
>
> The old horse and buggy educational system is too ineffective and wasteful. The best educational technology or innovation should be employed to reach the greatest majority of our Hawaiian people throughout the 50 States.
>
> A revolving fund should be provided to adequately research, publish, and distribute useful knowledge that will benefit the Hawaiian people as well as all those who want to learn. The cost can be alleviated by the purchase of these publications, like it is done by the Superintendent of Documents . . .
>
> MR. LINDSEY: But I hope it will take advantage of modern educational technology where we can spread the benefit of education.
>
> SENATOR INOUYE: Yes, sir.
>
> MR. LINDSEY: We have satellites, cassette tapes, and everything else available to us in the modern day. The usual horse-and-buggy method of teaching is very restrictive. (Henry K. Lindsey, Bill 916, pp. 168-169)

Finally, Robert Gay, a Big Island Hawaiian studies educator, stressed in a recent newspaper article that current Hawaiian studies programs are hampered by the inadequacy of existing books and materials (Snakenburg, 1982).

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: School System Barriers

Condition 8: Curriculum

Condition Summary

> General observations about existing school curricula note weak basic skills training, student disinterest, "fragmentation," "inflexibility," and "irrelevance to the real world." Additional suggestions about curricula changes suggest development of school-to-work activity programs, exploratory vocational courses, training programs to develop marketable skills and up-dating of the vocational education program.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Up-to-date, effective school curricula designed to provide a range of educational experiences for students as well as prepare them for higher education or entry into the job market.

Testimony

General criticisms of the prevailing curriculum currently in place in the public schools center on its inadequacy in producing acceptable outcomes in the area of basic skills and on a perceived need by certain special interest groups to expand course offerings and special curricula of various types.

A sample of criticism about the ineptitude of high school graduates who have sought various apprenticeship opportunities is as follows:

> A lot of them have a diploma and yes, they cannot read what it says on the diploma. As a union representative, that I was before I retired, we had kids that used to come up to me, 'Mr. Torres, we've been discriminated. They don't want us to apply for apprenticeship.' So, feeling that was my job, I went out and find out.
>
> They had this professor here who was from the university, I forgot his name. That was a while back. He told me, he said, 'Those kids are only a waste of time and paper.' I didn't believe that man when he told me that. So, I had to sit in one class there, and that was the day they were going to fill in applications to get an apprentice program. And you know, these guys here didn't have a diploma.
>
> The question was asked, 'Where were your parents born?' 'Here.' I say, 'What is the maiden name of your mother?' Questions like that, they could not answer. They didn't know because they could hardly read what it says on the diploma. (Johnnie C. Torres, Bill 916, p. 176)

Comments about other aspects of the curriculum in general were offered in all three of Henning's needs assessments (1978a, 1978b, and 1978c). The following are sample comments from educators involved in various aspects of education in the three target communities.

> The curriculum is fragmented. (1978a, p. 22)
>
> The curriculum needs to be more flexible and relevant to the real world of the students (1978b, p. 6).
>
> Flexibility is needed to make the curriculum more interesting (1978c, p. 22).
>
> Curriculum content needs to relate more to the real world of the students, who are practical and sensitive (Molokai 1978c, p. 22).
>
> The teaching methods and courses turn students off. (Leeward 1978a, p. 22)

An example of a special interest group making comments on curricular needs in the public schools is the state of Hawaii Commission on Manpower and Full Employment whose Chairperson testified as follows:

> Vocational education programs in Hawaii now serve nearly 30,000 persons at all levels. Needs assessments conducted by the Manpower Commission and other State agencies indicate a growing need for expanded programs to keep pace with new technologies and the skills they require. The Commission sees S. 916 as a welcome complement to the State's ongoing effort to prepare its youth and adults for gainful employment. (VerlieAnn Malina-Wright, Bill 916, p.221)

A specific example of general curricular suggestions from this Commission include the following from an annual report issued jointly with the State Employment and Training Council (State Employment and Training Council and Commission on Manpower and Full Employment, 1981). It was recommended that:

- The DOE and UH System increase the involvement of employers, parents, and community groups in developing and implementing school-to-work activities as a supplement to regular classroom instruction.
- The DOE, UH System, and CETA prime sponsors provide in-school youth with a wider range of options to obtain work experiences, both paid and voluntary, in private, nonprofit and government sectors and that these work experiences be considered for academic credit.
- The State Legislature authorize funds to the DOE to increase the range of exploratory vocational courses, and where appropriate and feasible, to intensify training activities in those courses where the vocational skills are in demand in the labor market.

Social Indicator Data

Data presented in Chapter 2 of this report offer the most thorough and up-to-date accounting of the extent of underachievement on the part of Hawaiians in the public schools of the state. These data have indicated to many

—and they indeed do suggest — that the existing general curriculum in the public schools does not produce satisfactory outcomes with a good number of Hawaiian youth.

Social Science Analysis

By far the most sophisticated local study of curricular variations and their effects has been the work of the Kamehameha Early Education Project during the past 15 years. In brief, KEEP has targeted reading as its key area of concern, bringing to bear an impressive multidisciplinary research staff that has been committed to a wide range of inquiry relating to the reading problems of Hawaiians. Their bottom-line finding is that the public schools — the basic curriculum model currently in place — must be changed at a fundamental level if Hawaiians are to succeed. The following four statements, the first three from Jordan, Tharp, and Baird-Vogt (1982) and the fourth from KEEP's most recent description of their program (Tharp, Jordan, Speidel, Au, Klein, Calkins, Sloat, & Gallimore, in press), provide a summary of KEEP's general strategy for developing their unique brand of "alternative" education designed expressly for Hawaiians.

> The traditional solution to minority academic under-achievement has been to attempt to change the child or the home to conform to school expectations. KEEP has used a different strategy. It has modified the school context in ways that enable it to elicit and build on those abilities which the children already possess, and which they exhibit in non-school settings. Thus, KEEP has used features of Hawaiian culture as one guide in choosing the educational practices best suited to Hawaiian children .... (p. 2)
>
> Cultural compatibility is a necessity for educational achievement. In minority education the way to produce such compatibility is not to change the children and their families, but rather to change the school, to create truly bicultural classrooms. Cultural compatibility involves more than language code **per se**; other aspects of communicative interaction must also be taken into account in creating an effective bicultural classroom. What is needed to create such a classroom is to discover, in non-school settings, those contexts which elicit the kinds of behaviors that are desired by the school, and then to use the knowledge of these contexts as a guide in selecting appropriate educational practices. (pp. 13 - 14)
>
> Knowledge from cultural research can best be put to use not by attempting to **change** the home culture, nor by efforts to **reproduce** that culture in the classroom. Rather it should serve as a guide in choosing, from the full range of educational practices, those best suited to a particular population. This translation of ethnography into educational practice requires the cooperation of ethnographers, educational researchers and educational practitioners. Educational research and development programs need to provide for both cultural research and culture-education translation in order to produce effective and truly bi-cultural education. (pp. 15 - 16)
>
> The authors have assumed that it is (theoretically) possible to change educational practice to accord more closely with teaching/learning patterns of a natal culture. We assume that there is sufficient capacity in minority children to succeed in such a school; that is, minority children are biologically and maturationally normal, and develop according to the same principles of instruction-through-assisted-performance that are characteristic of humans on a species level. These assumptions have guided our data collection and analyses, and though they are only hypotheses, produced a quite different data set than if we had catalogued only 'deficiencies.' (pp. 6-7)

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: School System Barriers

Condition 9: Early Childhood Education

Condition Summary

Advocates of early childhood education feel that so much learning takes place before school entry that general educational programming should be expanded to include preschool as well as parent-infant programs. Such education is sometimes considered crucial for children at educational risk due to poverty and/or family background.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Early childhood education programs that effectively meet the needs of preschoolers and/or infants and their families.

Testimony

Perhaps the central question posed by advocates of early childhood education is: Do we have a need to expand formal educational efforts and intervention beyond existing institutional boundaries? For example, what advantages and disadvantages might there be to developing preschools for three and four-year olds as well as new families with children at even younger ages and for persons who will soon (expectant couples) or in the forseeable future (secondary-level students) become parents?

Testimony indicated that there is some support among Hawaiians for extending education beyond the current scope of 5-18 years of age. For example, the following comments note that early childhood education is desireable, for a variety of reasons:

> The success of the head start program on Kauai funded by Federal funds through the Kauai Economic Opportunity Agency of which I served as a member of the board of directors for more than 5 years, gives proof of the value of a low pupil-teacher ratio. The program provides preschoolers with the opportunity to learn early social values and discipline by working and playing together in small groups under supervision.
>
> At the same time, tours of places and participation in programs with mothers present provide the added benefit of sharing experiences of mutual benefit to both the children and their mothers/parents. By the time the children reach public school age, they are already familiar with a guided program of instruction and activities and are able to adjust to public school life without difficulty or problems. (Janita Mundon, Bill 916, p. 207)
>
> 1. Early child programs: (a) Early childhood programs are vitally needed for a well balanced educational beginning; (b) emphasis should be in the area of the three R's and a follow-through program from kindergarten to high school; and (c) an early indoctrination to career development. (Rose Jackman, Bill 916, p. 139)

The latter comment came from a representative of the community in which the primary ethnographic research underlying program development and planning at the Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP) was conducted. This is noted here in anticipation of a discussion of anthropological perspectives on early education.

A different perspective on the need for new forms of education such as preschools comes from analyses of existing services. Joanne Bristow, for instance, Educational Director of Children's Center Inc., testified as follows:

> If it is assumed that the children's center's percentage of Hawaiian children applies to the 670 children in quality preschools, then a third of these children are of Hawaiian extraction, or about 230 children. Therefore, only about 1 percent of all Hawaiian children are currently being provided quality preschool educations. The need for quality preschooling for children of Hawaiian extraction is patent. This need is obvious if only to provide Hawaiians with the parity necessary to permit them a competitive chance upon kindergarten entry. Without it, we assure this State's first discoverers and developers another generation of second class citizenship. (Bill 857, p. 113)

Finally, early education is a special interest area of a key Hawaiian leader, Myron Thompson, Trustee of The Kamehameha Schools/ Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate. Testimonial comments from him have included the following:

> It is also expressed that Hawaiian children are more in need of home-start/ head-start preparation for the public schools as a way of integrating their cultural orientation with that provided in the public elementary schools they will attend. (Bill 857, p. 169)
>
> Our educational system does not address that issue ["fear of learning" among Hawaiians]. Through this bill we can address it. In addition to that, when the youngster hits our public school system at kindergarten, at least he would be open

to absorb the learning that is available to him at that point.

Right now, our system assumes that each youngster that comes into their doors at kindergarten are free to learn. This is not the case. In a recent review of one of our public schools first grade operations, we found that half of the class was illiterate. In this day it is incredible.

So, what I am saying is that S. 916 allows us to go back a little further. It also allows us to improve our present day system toward assisting our people to be free to learn in all walks of their lives. (Bill 916, p. 86)

Social Indicator Data

As a new form of social assistance in society's armamentaria of peacekeeping and human service agencies, early childhood education has not yet identified the key indicators to be used as indices of need for specific populations. The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate needs assessment work in progress at the time this study was undertaken suggested four indicators: percent welfare eligible (poverty), teenage pregnancy rates, low birth weight rates, and incidence of child abuse and neglect. A brief analysis of educational need for the birth-4 years group revealed the following (Office of Program Evaluation and Planning, 1981, Report 80-81:52):

> The total number of Hawaiian children ages 0-4 was derived from information obtained from the Department of Health, State of Hawaii. These records indicated that approximately 5,000 Hawaiian live births have occured annually for the past five years. However, substracting the infant mortality rate of approximately 75 deaths annually during ages 0-11 months results in 4,925 Hawaiian infants attaining one year. Thus, there are approximately 24,600 Hawaiian children between ages 0-4.
>
> The task of identifying those "in need" of additional educational services in the 0-4 age range is not easy. Obviously, the in-need condition here must include both the infant and the family. Conseqeuently, the following indicators have been selected in order to begin to reveal the scope of educational need for the early childhood Hawaiian population:
>
> - **Welfare Eligibility** — Data provided by Alu Like in 1976 indicated that nearly 34% of all Hawaiian children below age five were in welfare eligible families. If one accepts the assumption of a positive relationship between welfare status and educational need, then some 8,400 Hawaiian children are in this category. This, perhaps, is the outside or maximum number in this age range.
>
> - **Teenage Pregnancy** — The Department of Health data reveal that an average of 800 teenage Hawaiian girls become mothers each year. Teenage pregnancy is a "risk" condition.
>
> - **Low Infant Birth Weight** — The Department of Health reports that about 400 Hawaiian babies born each year are "at risk" in terms of low birth weight.
>
> - **Child Abuse and Neglect** — The Department of Social Services and Housing indicate that about 100 cases per year of child abuse and neglect are reported in Hawaiian families.
>
> If the "outside" figure of 8,400 infants "in need" is reasonably valid, then the scope of prevention services needed by these families is somewhat clearer. (pp. 213-214)

In addition to the above indicators it is conceivable that agencies who work with preschool-age children might be able to compile social indicator data analogous to the standardized test scores used with school-age youth. Whether this should come from general screening programs or should involve an analysis by ethnicity of individuals referred for special services during the birth-five years period is unclear. To date, no source of such information has been found. However, from what can be determined the best information of this general nature is that reported by the Kauai Pregnancy Study from their intensive, longitudinal analyses of development among the babies born on Kauai during 1955 (Werner, Bierman, & French, 1971).

In brief, the Kauai Pregnancy Study exam-

ined the developmental outcomes of an entire cohort of births. Major evaluations of development, including testing and observation of the home environment, were conducted at ages two and ten. Of the 1012 children involved in the study through age ten, about 23 percent were Hawaiian. The developmental measures included the Vineland Social Maturity Scale and the Catell Infant Intelligence Scale. Results from the Vineland revealed no differences between the ethnic groups studied: all groups performed well above the norms from the 1930s. On the Catell, however, the Japanese led all groups with a mean IQ score of 103, followed by Portugese, 99; Caucasians, 98; Hawaiians, 96; and Filipinos, 95. These differences were evaluated by a two-way analysis of variance for ethnicity and socioeconomic status. Both main effects, for SES and for ethnicity, were statistically significant (p. 01) (cf., Werner, Simonian, & Smith, 1968; Werner, Bierman & French, 1971).

over, combining information from such a test with measures of "quality of environment" greatly increases the predictive value. As Werner et al. (1971) concluded: "a combination of retarded development and deprived environment in infancy is more predictive of serious achievement problems at school age than either infant examinations or family variables alone" (p. 102).

In fact, subsequent evaluation of school performance at age 10 showed that about half of the Hawaiian sample exhibited achievement problems. Results from the Kauai study outlining outcomes by ethnic group are shown in Table 66. It can be seen that Hawaiians, Filipinos, and Portugese accounted for a considerably higher percentage of school problems than did Japanese and Caucasians.

Social Science Analysis

The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate has long been interested in early childhood education. An initial start in this area came during the early 1960s with a single preschool. When Head Start began, trends in this direction were cut back to avoid duplication of services. Later, in 1970, when consultants Gallimore and Tharp were hired to develop recommendations regarding early education, they noted the "wash out" phenomenon associated with Head Start and the subsequent federal focus on "Follow-Through" during the early elementary years. In keeping with trends of that era, they suggested that

TABLE 66

Percentages of Children with Achievement, Perceptual, Language and Emotional Problems at Age 10, by Ethnic Group

Type of Problem	JAPANESE (N = 253)	FULL AND PART HAWAIIAN (N = 180)	FILIPINO (N = 138)	PORTUGUESE (N = 18)	ANGLO-SAXON CAUCASIAN (N = 18)	CHI-SQUARE VALUE
ACHIEVEMENT PROBLEM	27.7%	53.9%	52.2%	52.2%	22.2%	41.41%**
D or F in reading, writing, or math	26.9%	49.4%	47.1%	41.3%	22.2%	29.25%**
One or more grades below CA	2.4%	13.9%	9.4%	21.7%	0.0%	30.77%**
In MR class or institution	.4%	2.8%	3.6%	8.7%	0.0%	14.49%**
PERCEPTUAL PROBLEM	8.7%	13.3%	14.5%	13.0%	16.7%	4.04%
LANGUAGE PROBLEM	3.6%	8.9%	8.0%	6.5%	0.0%	7.17%
EMOTIONAL PROBLEM	18.6%	27.8%	28.3%	34.8%	27.8%	9.51%*

NOTE: Reprinted, by permission of the publisher, from E. E. Werner, K. Simonian, and R. S. Smith. 1968. Ethnic and socioeconomic status differences in abilities and achievement among preschool and school-age children in Hawaii. Journal of Social Psychology 75: 43-59.

*$p < .05$

**$p < .01$

While the use of a test whose score is labelled "IQ" tends to raise strong emotional reactions and accusations with respect to cultural bias, unfair labeling, racism, insensitivity to cultural differences, etc., the bottom-line from an educational standpoint is that the items on the test do relate in an important way to school activities found in the majority of schools. For example, a poor performance at age 2 on a so-called IQ test is generally a very good predictor of subsequent school problems across behavioral, attitudinal, and achievement dimensions (cf., McCall, 1979). More-

Kamehameha concentrate on developing programs for the early school years, grades K through 3, before embarking on preschool or any other form of early childhood education (cf., Gallimore & Tharp, 1970). Their suggestions were heeded, and the Kamehameha Early Education Program was begun in 1971. Its goal was to discover how the school achievement of Hawaiian youth could be enhanced during the early elementary school years.

In 1975 new developments in the field of early childhood education, specifically Project Home Start, again caught the eyes of Kamehameha administrators. This general home-based model seemed as if it might be an appropriate vehicle for Kamehameha's involvement in early education prior to school entry; moreover, it was an approach that did not require extensive capital improvements. An initial planning phase, 1975 - 1977, involved convening an advisory panel of local experts from the human services, sending Kamehameha staff members to interview Mainland experts and to observe existing programs, and hiring a program planner. By July, 1977 a project plan for the Kupulani project was approved by The Schools' Trustees (Rauch & Hammond, 1977). Labelled "Family-Based Early Education" the program design for Kupulani called for a comprehensive early childhood program that would serve families from before the birth of their child through school entry at age five. Among other things the project was described as "family-based," "early-starting," "culturally relevant," "continuous," "affective as well as cognitive." In point of fact, it was modeled heavily after programs developed by the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation's Parent-Infant Department (cf., Lambie, Bond, & Weikart, 1974) and the Brookline Early Education Project (cf., Pierson, 1974).

Kupulani as Child and Family Resource Center. When the Kupulani project was conceived, the guiding concept was "Hawaiian Home Start." In some minds its purpose was clear: prepare Hawaiian youngsters for school. However, the project evolved into something much more complex and comprehensive than this, and possibly because of this broadening of scope experienced a remarkable range of implementation problems (cf. Office of Program Evaluation and Planning, 1980 - 1982, a total of 20 separate reports).

A literature review conducted in connection with the evaluation of the project (Melahn, 1980) revealed that Kupulani was, in fact, almost identical to the Child and Family Resource Center programs which the federal government had initiated — and about which little had, or has, been written. In addition, it was learned from a report issued by the U.S. General Accounting Office (1979) that similar projects elsewhere had had substantial implementation problems; however, it was also clear that the model did indeed produce significant outcomes for poor families. Later, a report from Turner, Connell, and Mathis (1980) revealed that the Child and Family Resource Center Program evaluators had been forced to develop a new perspective on evaluation because of the unique style of intervention that had evolved: that is, family-by-family individualization as opposed to traditional educational approaches that provide one basic program for all participants.

Presently, in view of the severe implementation problems encountered, it seems too early to judge definitively the success or lack of success of the Kupulani effort. However, it can be noted that a recent consumer satisfaction survey (Office of Program Evaluation and Planning, 1982, Report No. 82-83: 11) indicated that the parents who chose to participate in the program offerings were very supportive, and appreciative of the services.

Preschool Programs. At KEEP, where the general intervention strategy has been a "Follow Through-type" early elementary effort, research regarding the effects preschool attendance essentially confirmed the findings of the late 1960s: whatever advantages preschool attenders had initially in school tended to fade rather quickly. Specifically, Fox and Gallimore (1976) reported the following:

> The findings indicate that preschool has an effect, although limited, on the performance of a child in kindergarten, and that the effect mainly is found on verbal dimensions. The preschool group's advantage over the no-preschool group continues throughout the kindergarten year, yet is completely diminished by the first grade year. It appears that preschool gives kindergarten children a slight lead, but not a lasting one. (p. 10)

This research finding fit well with pre-existing judgements on the part of program

planners at KEEP that programs for Hawaiian children prior to school entry are probably unnecessary, are likely to be inefficient, and may be unethical. Material detailing this line of thinking can be found in the original consultants' report that preceded KEEP:

> . . . while parent-education programs are in current vogue, an adequate technology has not yet been developed, and the long-range effects of this sort of program have not been studied. Second, Gallimore and Howard have demonstrated that the motivational and social characteristics in Hawaiian children, which bring them into conflict with standard educational practices, are related to the Hawaiian cultural context, that they could not be altered without simultaneously altering the total pattern of the Hawaiian culture. This is undesireable. It is also probably inefficient, since MacDonald and Gallimore have demonstrated that it is possible, within the public school system, to capitalize upon the social and motivational strengths of Hawaiian character, and thus achieve significant improvement in the academic achievements of Hawaiian children (Gallimore & Tharp, 1970, p. 24).

Cultural considerations. At least partly in the name of "preserving culture," then, KEEP has steered clear of preschool and similarly-related parent/family interventions and has proceeded to build a "culturally compatible" elementary curriculum that allows Hawaiians to retain their cultural values and behavioral styles while still learning in school (cf. Jordan, Tharp, and Baird-Vogt, 1982). At the same time, though, the process of dissemination of KEEP methods into the public schools recently uncovered a situation that may indicate a need for early intervention among some Hawaiian families.

The specific finding was that a sizeable minority of students in a public school in which KEEP was installing its reading program did not progress satisfactorily. These "illiterates," as they came to be called, unlike the majority of Hawaiian youth enrolled in earlier KEEP programs, arrived at first grade unable to recognize their name in print, unfamiliar with the idea of writing, and in general unprepared to learn how to read (cf., Jordan, D'Amato, and Joesting, 1981). Initial anthropological investigation into this situation resulted in the following preliminary findings as reported by Jordan et al (1981):

> The parents of children who had not been familiar with basic concepts of literacy (hereafter, 'target children') were not as accessible to communication as the parents of children who were familiar with these concepts (hereafter, 'control children'). It was harder to get in touch with target parents, harder to arrange interviews with them, and harder to make a face-to-face connection with them once dates had been arranged.
>
> The above finding is associated with and may be related to the relatively low incomes of the target families. In addition, target families and households are larger, and target families tended to be less geographically mobile than control families and geographical mobility was associated with young, economically-successful families, that is to say, with ones having the means and inclination to move into homes of their own. Precisely how these variables relate to the acquisition of literacy concepts is not yet clear. However, it is an intriguing finding that relatively loose connections to the mainstream social structure — whether construed as the economy, the telephone book, the school directory, or the appointment — is strongly associated with relatively little connection to the concepts of literacy (p. 34).

While the above findings regarding what might be called "multiple-problem" families do not necessarily imply that early education for Hawaiians is needed, it is exactly these types of "high risk" families that have been the primary targets of comprehensive early education efforts throughout the country. Thus, in spite of the fact that KEEP has generally found most of its students to be as well-prepared as any for school, the existence of even a few "difficult cases" is one indication that educational intervention prior to kindergarten entry may be useful on an individualized, family-by-family basis.

Whether these few cases also imply a need for intervention with respect to cultural child-rearing patterns, as advocated by Sutton-Smith (1977), or some other program approach that addresses pre-kindergarten educational needs

in a culturally sensitive fashion, remains a prerogative of early childhood educators. In this same vein, however, it might be noted that since Gallimore and Tharp (1970) first summarized the implications of research on the impact of preschool programs for The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate (and recommended emphasis on intervention at the K - 3 level), preschool follow-up studies have documented the longterm or "sleeper" benefits associated with these types of programs (e. g., Brown, 1978; Weber, Foster, & Weikart, 1978; Weikart, Epstein, Schweinhart, & Bond, 1978). These more recent studies, then, combined with the evidence indicating the existence of an underprepared, special-need subgroup of kindergarten youth further bolster the proposition that a need exists for a different early education strategy than that originally adopted at KEEP. Of course, much would still depend, in considering this issue, upon one's professional evaluation of the cultural and practicality/efficiency concerns Gallimore and Tharp raised in their initial consultation report regarding early education for Hawaiians.

In the cultural area, for example, in light of Gallimore and Tharp's objections to parent training/early education because of the cultural interference involved, it is of interest to consider an alternate perspective offered by two anthropologists who have worked extensively throughout Polynesia. Specifically, Ritchie and Ritchie (1981), rather than viewing current family conditions among Polynesians as "ideal" or "right," and therefore "untouchable" on the part of educators, acknowledge problems such as child abuse as indicators of a general breakdown in Polynesian family systems. In their words, they have described the situation as follows, making their own recommendations for intervention:

> The surrounding circumstances simply show how quickly the universal preconditions of the battered-child syndrome can arise in any society that has ceased to maintain good standards of child care. Large families, poor living conditions, an intolerable degree of isolation, marital instability, strain, and alcohol — all compound in a generation to create the preconditions of child abuse. Perhaps it is less frequent that the abusive adult was abused as a child [among Polynesians], but it is only a matter of time before this condition is added to all the others. What is the answer?
>
> To us it seems that a strong hope lies in reconstruction. We believe that the Polynesian heritage rests upon Polynesian child rearing. We believe that a conscious and deliberate conservation of that pattern would prevent child abuse. We know of intact New Zealand Maori communities, old enclaves around which wider communities have grown. Within these communities child abuse is as unthinkable as it ever was. The first step in reconstructing a viable urban equivalent is for Polynesians to recognize the salient features of their child-rearing system so that they know what to protect. Time and again, when we have told Polynesian groups our analysis of the major features of their child-rearing style, they have said yes, that is how their childhood was; they recognize the pattern, they remember how nice it was. But in all the discussion of cultural preservation we have never heard the central role of child rearing acknowledged. Instead, the emphasis is on preservation of language, community ceremonial facilities, traditions, oratory, and song and dance. All these are important, but none of them will prevent disorganization from reaching down into the heart of family relationships (pp. 200 - 201).

This point of view raises one of the interesting issues with respect to cultural preservation: who should decide what is or is not worthy of preservation? And what frame of reference or perspective should be used to make such decisions?

The lines in this case can be drawn between social scientists who advocate preservation of contemporary culture as documented by recent ethnographic study (e.g., Gallimore & Tharp, 1970) and others, whether social scientists or in-culture experts of various persuasions, who tend to view contemporary behavioral patterns among Hawaiians as a complex combination of "true Hawaiian" practices and "distortions" of one type of another. The latter are behavior patterns that may be common among Hawaiians in today's world, but which have very little precedence when viewed from an historical perspective.

One example that in-culture observers have mentioned in discussions of "distortions" is the notion that Hawaiians are "lazy." In this regard the diligence and attention to detail of ancient Hawaiians has been emphasized and contrasted with the idleness that occurs too frequently among contemporary Hawaiians. Such observers rankle at any suggestion — particularly when it comes from Hawaiians themselves — that observed idleness under contemporary circumstances is simply "the Hawaiian way" (e.g., Kanahele, 1982). With respect to sibling caretaking, meanwhile, it is certainly a feature of traditional Hawaiian family life. However, as times and conditions inevitably change with increased modernization and urbanization — and sibling caretaking becomes different as it begins to occur outside the traditional village/extended family context — does it eventually become "distorted" and possibly maladaptive? Certainly it may be dangerous under some circumstances as Ritchie and Ritchie (1981) noted:

> The degree of independence appropriate in the low-technology village situation may place impossible, even lethal, demands on a young Polynesian city child, especially in regard to sibling caretaking. Older homes, in which the poor, including Polynesians, are most likely to live, catch fire more easily. A child of five or six who is looking after his or her younger siblings simply may not know what to do in such emergency. The modern urban environment is undoubtedly the most dangerous in which human beings have ever tried to live (p. 198).

Finally, it can be noted that in spite of any threat to cultural lifestyle, Hawaiians generally seem to be strong supporters of preschool programs. For instance, Melahn and O'Donnell (1978), reporting on in-class behavior patterns of Head Start children in Hawaii, noted that Hawaiians accounted for about 44 percent of the population served by the program. This contrasts with the approximately 27 percent of the general population in that age range that is classified as living in poverty (cf., Hawaii Office of Economic Opportunity and Hawaii CAP Directors Association, 1979). In a similar vein, the surveys conducted in connection with a recent evaluation of The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate's Extension Education Division (Office of Program Evaluation and Planning, 1981, Report No. 80-81:52) revealed that preschools were among the top five programs in terms of community interest, awareness, and perceived need to expand.

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: School System Barriers

Condition 10: Other Concerns

Condition Summary

> Additional barriers within the system may include ineffective organizational/management functioning with the public schools, limited local and parent input into educational planning, and ineffective/inadequate educational research and research dissemination efforts.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Management/organizational structures and procedures that result in efficient, effective education.
- Mechanisms for local and parental input into educational planning.
- Efficient and effective educational research and research dissemination methods.

Testimony

Hawaiian spokespersons have commented on the general unresponsiveness of the DOE in several areas, including the lack of overall community participation in decision-making, the lack of good research usage and dissemination, and the lack of good planning:

> Parent participation in the educational systems has been extremely limited to date through suspicion, lack of understanding, and frustration with a system in which they, too, had problems. (Winona Rubin, Bill 916, p.212)
>
> There is a systematic exclusion of participation by parents — parents don't feel part of the educational system. (Henning, 1978a)
>
> In my experience, research has been isolated. It has not provided the opportunity for community response and in-

put. This has resulted in the community presently feeling 'left-out' and very threatened. This has also created defensiveness on the part of 'professionals.' (Paige Barber, NIE Multicultural Task Force, 1974)

We are all too familiar with the unresponsive, inept and poor educational planning that has long characterized the learning experience for many of us who have survived the public educational system and who now have children in the schools. (Gard Kealoha, Bill 916, p. 111)

Social Science Analysis

Not exactly the work of social science, a Legislative Auditor's three-year study of the Hawaii State DOE, published in 1973, nonetheless left no uncertainty as to the cumbersome and unresponsive nature of the bureaucracy. While a unified, state-wide educational system should be expected to avoid some of the problems of inequality caused by uneven district funding as on the mainland, the system had resulted in a top-heavy and poorly managed organization in the early 1970's. Some of the recommendations made by this report were as follows:

- The board should strengthen their policy-making role.
- Overall strategy for future organizational development should be developed.
- There should be a complete review of staffing.
- Adopt policies that clearly fix responsibility for curriculum development.
- Establish a system of program analysis review to ensure quality control.
- Bring all innovative and pilot projects under management control.
- Establish a system so state office and districts are informed about progress and status of programs.
- Develop a new personnel classification system.
- Develop a program plan for recruitment and selection.

The DOE has taken steps to address some of these issues, but the feeling remains strong that the bureaucracy is heavily entrenched.

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: Physical and Built Environment

Condition 1: Rural Isolation

Condition Summary

Some educational problems of neighbor island and rural Oahu youth are the same as those of students in rural environments in any part of the country; for example, limited exposure to an urban environment, motivational problems stemming from limited job opportunities, stereotyping on the part of teachers who are not from rural backgrounds, and the variable quality of the teaching staff willing to accept rural assignments.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Programs designed to alleviate problems associated with education in a rural setting.

Testimony

Hawaii, like most states, does have areas that are rural and isolated with respect to urban centers. In fact, the Neighbor Islands generally offer a completely different environment from that found on the main island of Oahu. A number of individuals have pointed up some of the special problems the youth living on neighbor islands can face with respect to their educations. For example, one educator from Molokai noted:

> Many of our students have not come out of Molokai. So, they don't really know what the outside life is. You come from Molokai to Honolulu, it's just a fast moving rate. Even I have a headache today driving around in this mad-rush place.
>
> But, the thing is, when they come here they feel backward. They're really out of it. They're thrust into a place where they don't have any concept of what it's like. They have some concept, I shouldn't say any, but the thing is that if they can be educated properly and they can receive funds to help them in many areas that you have outlined in your bill, I feel there is a chance for Molokai to come out of it (Donna Kapu, Bill 916, p. 145).

She even went so far as to use a phrase that was once widely used in discussing the plight of children reared in poverty conditions — "culturally deprived:"

> They know Representative Akaka or Senator Inouye, they know your picture, but when they see it they don't know what you really stand for. I guess because we really are culturally deprived over there (Donna Kapu, Bill 916, p. 144).

In other parts of her testimony Ms. Kapu noted a need for alternative education programs and for programs designed to motivate Molokai youth with respect to the educational aspirations.

Others have also noted the special needs of those in rural areas both in terms of the type and expectations of teaching assigned to these areas and of the limited opportunities available. For example, a Hawaiian member of the State Board of Education noted:

> The Native Hawaiian child in the rural areas of our State has been neglected academically under the mistaken and assumed idea that he or she is not interested in being educated. This, too, is a misconception. The child, at a very young age, sensitive in nature, is able to differentiate between a teacher who cares and one who doesn't. When the latter happens, in or out of the classroom, the child is "turned off" on education until such time as another teacher takes or shows interest in him or her (Margaret Apo, Bill 916, p. 44).

While the chairperson of the State Commission an Manpower and Full Employment testified:

> In 1978, the Commission also conducted needs assessment visitations to high schools located in isolated rural areas on all islands. The Commission found that these areas are characterized by high outmigration rates for their young people and lack the educational and training resources that are available in the more urbanized areas. While some of these isolated rural areas have high concentrations of Hawaiian youth who would benefit from the legislation, we are particulary encouraged by the provision in S.916 which states that participation of non-Native Hawaiian children may also be allowed (Verlie Ann Malina-Wright, Bill 916, p. 221).

Social Indicator Data

Data suggestive of rural/urban differences in overall quality of life dimensions such as percent living in poverty, unemployment, etc. can be found in Henning (1978), an overview of conditions on the island of Molokai. For example, the following excerpted comparisons with conditions on Maui suggest that life on one of the State's less populated islands is in many respects very different from that to be found in more urbanized areas.

- Of the 1,621 people below the poverty level on Molokai 51.1 percent are Native Hawaiians. In Maui County the proportion is 33.2.
- The unemployment rate for Molokai Hawaiians is 23.4 compared with a rate of 18.8 for the total Molokai population. The unemployment rate for Hawaiians in Maui County is less than half the rate on Molokai, 11.1 and 23.4 respectively. Fewer Hawaiians on Molokai are employed.
- Of the Molokai juveniles referred to Family Court between July 1, 1976 and June 30, 1977, 59.6 percent were Native Hawaiians. This is a much higher rate than for Maui Island, Maui County or the State.
- In Maui County, a higher percentage of non-Hawaiians age 25 and over than Hawaiians received a high school diploma. On Molokai, 53.3 percent of the Hawaiians received a diploma while only 47.2 percent of the total population did so. Molokai Hawaiians were, however, less likely to continue their education after high school than were non-Hawaiians. More than twice as many Hawaiians on Maui went on to higher education schools and programs than did those living on Molokai.
- The suspension and absenteeism rate is high on Molokai schools (Henning, 1978c, p. 23).

It is also of interest to note that any problems related to education or school achievement in rural areas may occur in the face of rather favorable student: teacher ratios. For example, in the recent-

ly published *Molokai Data Book* the following analysis of functional capacities in education was offered:

There are four elementary schools located on the island. The following table summarizes their location and attendance.

Molokai Elementary Schools — 1980

Location	Number of Students	Number of Classrooms	Student/ Teacher Ratio
Kaunakakai	358	19	16.65
Kilohana	91	8	12.13
Kualapu'u	298	14	18.06
Maunaloa	83	7	12.76

In addition to the elementary schools, there is one intermediate/high school, Molokai High. Located at Ho'olehua, it has just over 700 students enrolled and a student-teacher ratio of 17 to 1 (Department of Education, 1981).

All schools are operating under capacity except for Molokai High which is presently at capacity. Although the current student-teacher ratios are presently under the state's recommended ratio of 26.15, increases in population will probably result in the need for expansion of school facilities, because the low ratios on Molokai are caused in part by the Department of Education's regulation that there must be a set minimum of staff at any particular school. (Canan et. al, 1982, p. VI-12)

Social Science Analysis

The literature search for this report did not uncover any extensive discussions of the educational problems of rural areas of the state. However, it is clear that social scientists have recognized the importance of geographic, "ecological" factors with respect to educational outcomes. For example, the statewide survey of educators conducted prior to the start of the Kamehameha Early Education Project by Gallimore and Tharp (1975) revealed clear differences in the perspectives of urban vs rural educators regarding the problems of Hawaiian school age children. They summarized and concluded their report as follows:

> The diversity with which the nature and genesis of Hawaiian education problems are perceived weighs against single explanations and solutions. Results of our informal survey of educators in Hawaii suggest that factors in addition to the specific and particular qualities of Hawaiian children are involved; for example, the attributional biases of educators and community residents, population and geographic factors, community expectations, and the like.
>
> To separate and understand the complexities naturally requires additional information. More important, perhaps, the results suggest that a mechanism is needed that can address differing educational problems in diverse communities. What might work well in urban Honolulu might not be needed or appreciated in rural Maui. Thus, an attack on the educational problems of the Hawaiian minority requires not only experimentation, but flexibility in approach. In addition, the rapidly changing nature of Hawaii's communities and public schools necessitates that any research and development program must be organized for continual change and adjustment as new issues and needs arise. Most importantly, the program must be guided by data-based continuous evaluation. (p. 8)

More specifically, their comments about "High Density (of Hawaiians)/ Low Urbanization" areas of the state included the following:

> . . . [these are] areas which are less uniform principally because some are apparently in the early stages of urbanization, while others face the problem only in the remote future. This difference appears to alter the degree to which local educators perceive Hawaiians to be a major problem. As the community begins to change from a rural, semi-isolated state in response to changing economic conditions, the perceived disadvantages of the Hawaiian life style become a source of greater concern to educators. Where in the past the disinterest of Hawaiian pupils in academic matters represented only a failure to achieve the ideal, in the

present, educators begin to see underachievement as the father of personal and social tragedy and frustration. Consequently, educators no longer regard scholastic disinterest as concommitant with a culturally-linked life style which is congenially related to a placid, rural environment; underachievement is then interpreted as rejection of society, evidence of disorder, dissolution and deficiency, all of which are attributed to the culture of the child. (p. 6)

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs
General Need Area: Physical and Built Environment
Condition 2: Physical Plant

Condition Summary

In some instances physical facilities are considered poor; they need improvement.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Physical facilities that contribute positively towards educational goals.

Testimony

The quality of school buildings, grounds, facilities and surroundings is not a frequently heard complaint, but it does surface, especially when considerations of funding are at hand. The foreboding nature of some of the high schools where violence has occurred is one theme. Another is the contrast of the physical beauty of Hawaii's geography with the stark and depressing nature of some of its school buildings:

> Our present school facility there really needs to be upgraded. You have to forgive me because I get very emotional about the children there. (Donna Kapu, Bill 916, p. 144)

Social Science Analysis

Rapson (1980) comments on the general relationship of funding level to overall quality of education:

> The raw ingredients in any educational system are operating money, the capital plant, the quality of teachers, administrators, students, and the nature of the general milieu. Each of these requires examination. Money for buildings, supplies, textbooks, and the like is insufficient. A good system needs adequate funding to pay for the best teachers, to supply adequate facilities, to foster special programs, and to constantly monitor, evaluate, and revivify the curriculum. (Rapson, 1980, p. 97)

CHAPTER IV
Culturally Related Academic Needs

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs
General Need Area: Problems at the Interface
Condition 1: Characteristics of Hawaiian Children as Perceived by Educators

Condition Summary

Western educators have long found Hawaiians to be challenging students because of the vast cultural differences between the typical student and typical mainland-trained teacher. For example, among the negative characterizations offered by educators over the years, the following have been common: "lazy, lacking in self-control, irresponsible, rowdy, restless, inattentive, uninvolved, provocative, lacking in ability, indifferent, uninhibited, resistant to authority, and impervious to teacher influence."

Potential Educational Interventions

- Teacher training programs which foster stereotype-breaking; which enable the teacher to work with the characteristics of the children rather than against them.

Testimony

Social scientists have more frequently commented on the basic mismatch between the home and school cultures that exists for many Native Hawaiians than have Hawaiians themselves — at least in the testimony reviewed for this report. However, there is an awareness that the middle-class American values of most educators stand in stark contrast with those of many Hawaiians, a situation that seems to have produced some negative stereotyping as well as attitudinal barriers to success on the part of many Hawaiian students. For example, Kanahele has noted:

> . . . the 'dumb Hawaiian' image stems in part from ignorance [on the part of educators] of the obstacles built into the school system whose values and standards are those of a haole middle class and whose teachers are trained and oriented to the same. Brought up in familial and communal settings with different values and concepts, Hawaiian students often have been turned off by school (Kanahele, 1982d, p. 24).

Social Science Analysis

Recent work by social scientists interested in the educational difficulties of Hawaiians has provided ample evidence that the school system generally does have some major problems with Hawaiian youth. Indeed, the work of these investigators with educators across the state yields a very unflattering list of descriptors for Hawaiian students, including the following:

> lazy, irresponsible, lacking in self control, rowdy, restless, inattentive, uninvolved, provocative, lacking in ability, indifferent, uninhibited, resistant to authority, and impervious to teacher influence (cf., Dale et al, 1969; Jordan, Au, & Joesting, in press; MacDonald, 1971; Tharp & Gallimore, 1975).

As summarized specifically by two different investigators the situation appears to be quite challenging from an educator's point of view:

> Children of Hawaiian ancestry, especially from the more remote communities, have acquired a lasting reputation with school authorities for their minimal motivation in academic pursuits, the frequency of their absences or withdrawal from school, their undisciplined conduct, and disregard for 'the sanctity of private property and sex' (Lind, 1967).

And...

> As a group, Hawaiian children are vigorous, socially skilled, talkative, affectionate, and aggressive. None of these traits are surprising; they arise naturally from the peer and sibling-oriented culture. But these traits as manifested in an ordinary classroom, can produce chaos; when viewed by a frustrated teacher, they are described in far less complimentary terms, such as 'rowdy, restless, inattentive, lazy, uninvolved, provocative.' We must emphasize that in the ordinary school setting, these descriptions are not so inaccurate. The purpose of this paper is to describe the KEEP [Kamehameha Early Education Program] classroom system, which produces wholly different behaviors, and which allows Hawaiian children to be involved and productive. However, our system does not gainsay the poor match between the ordinary classroom and the Hawaiian child, which results in the rowdiness and inattention by which they are labelled. In fact, our own school has difficulty in retaining substitute teachers. Lacking the necessary management skills, substitute teachers quickly lose control of our classrooms... (Tharp, 1977; p. 16).

Judging from these two summary analyses, it appears that effective education with Hawaiians may require extraordinary classroom management and organization procedures — or at the very least there seems to be a need for some adjustments to the prevailing educational routine designed to make Hawaii's schools more amenable to the behavioral patterns and values of Native Hawaiians. Of course, the needs of individual Hawaiians and those of groups of students in specific communities vary, a circumstance that may call for a variety of approaches to solving educational problems that do exist.

In the early 1970s Tharp and Gallimore conducted a statewide survey of educators designed to determine the range of problems experienced by young Hawaiians in public school settings. In general, they concluded that "the distribution of the problems seemed quite varied from community to community. These variations would appear to have obvious programmatic implications; program inputs would need adjustment both in terms of the nature and severity of the problems" (Tharp & Gallimore, 1975; p. 3).

In bringing their findings into conceptual focus, Tharp and Gallimore suggested a two dimensional model that considered density of Hawaiian population (number of Hawaiians in a community and their relative visibility) and degree of urbanization. For each of the four quadrants in the resulting two-by-two matrix, they used information gathered from their survey to construct a prediction table with respect to the patterns of problems perceived by educators in different types of Hawaiian communities. Their table appeared as follows:

	Problem Type		
	Motivational	Academic	Social/ Behavioral
High Density – High Urbanization	yes!	yes!	yes!
High Density – Low Urbanization	yes!	yes!	
Low Density – High Urbanization	yes!	yes(?)	
Low Density – Low Urbanization	yes(?)	yes(?)	yes!

While Tharp and Gallimore offered detailed explanations for the various entries in the above table, the point here is simply to show that educators do perceive different patterns of problems in communities of different types. It might also be noted that the most challenging educational settings — for educators as well as Hawaiian students — are those highly urbanized communities in which the density of Hawaiians is also high (e.g., Nanakuli, Papakolea, etc.). One might further assume that it is these types of communities in which the long list of problems discussed above are most likely to appear.

Finally, Wegner (1977), in a study of the effect of school climate on student achievement, also noted the detrimental influence, on Hawaiian students' achievement, of the basic mismatch between Hawaiian and school/majority culture values and practices:

> ... while the low educational outcomes of Hawaiian youth appear to be a product of their cultural environment rather than any particular school context, the lack of a cultural emphasis on educational success may be largely due to an unsatisfactory interface between the character of schools and the Hawaiian community. (p. 27)

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs

General Need Area: Problems at the Interface

Condition 2: Workstyle/Values and Attitudes Related to Work

Condition Summary

Certain characteristics of Hawaiian workstyle preferences do not match well with dominant culture perspectives. For example, Hawaiians are said to prefer short bursts of work followed by relaxing activities; moreover, there is an apparent preference for doing only essential tasks rather than long repetitious work that can go on endlessly and/or work that builds towards some future outcome. In addition it was noted that "laziness" may simply be passive resistance to dominant culture pressures, that work involving friends or recommended by friends is preferred, that agricultural work has not recently had widespread appeal among Hawaiians, and that idleness has incorrectly come to be viewed as culturally approved. (Hawaiians traditionally were very hard workers; idleness was frowned upon.)

Potential Educational Interventions

- Educational programs which are designed to be culturally compatible; efforts to change in-school teaching strategies to take advantage of Hawaiian preferred work styles, for example, programs which make group efforts and group achievement an accepted feature of classroom activity.

Testimony

In general Hawaiians have often been stereotyped as lazy and indolent. In response to this allegation, testimony from Hawaiians has often sought to make two points: (1) Hawaiians tend to have a different style of work, one which has a definite place for leisure; and (2) Hawaiians, traditionally, have been a very hard-working people whose cultural achievements were substantial. Kanahele (1982c), for example, has made the following points regarding traditional Hawaiian work perspectives :

1. Hawaiians placed great stock on the importance of work. After all, how could they have produced so much or achieved such a high standard of social and material comfort?
2. Work was regarded as honorable and worthwhile. Labor was not demeaning. E.g., even the chiefs engaged in manual labor.
   a. True, some tasks were considered "dirty" and relegated to slaves.
3. Good work was praised; slovenly, poor quality work ridiculed.
4. Quality work was highly regarded. Hence, the esteem given to the specialists. Some enjoyed fame far and wide.
5. Idleness was strongly disapproved.
   a. Examples of proverbs which condemn the lazy, shiftless no-gooder.
   b. Penalties for leading an unproductive life were severe.
6. Concept of leisure: Hawaiians set aside time for pleasure and play. Work and play were both important. (p. 1)

Margaret Apo elaborated on what she perceived to be the Hawaiian perspective on the relationship between work and leisure:

> Native Hawaiians assigned to jobs to which they can perform or relate to have more often than not been called working fools. Their desire to complete the job is of the essence not for economic reasons, but because it meant time saved to return to the activities which they love more than the westernized need to produce goods for the market. It is only through education that this heavy and unjustified stigma will be lifted. And the individual's self-worth restored or realized to the fullest extent. (Bill 916, p. 43)

On his part Kanahele has made a strong committment toward encouraging industry and personal productivity among Hawaiians today through his entrepreneurship training efforts (cf., Office of Program Evaluation and Planning, Report No. 81-82:30). In general, his message in this regard has included the following points:

> Modern Hawaiians are probably as much influenced by the Protestant ethic as any other people, but it is not at all incompatible with the Hawaiian traditional view of the value of work or the dis-value

of sloth and indolence. Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians need to forget about the stereotype of the "indolent, lazy native." There was nothing in the natural character of Hawaiians to predispose them to not working.

a. The need for modern Hawaiians to work hard is greater than ever, if, that is, Hawaiians are determined to catch up with other ethnic groups. It has always been the lot of groups striving to achieve economic self-determination in a community/country to work harder than other established groups. Hawaiians must work twice as hard as any one else. This is completely compatible with the competitiveness that characterized ancient *alii* and their people.
b. Hard work is the basis of productivity. Just as ancient Hawaiian producers relied on hard work, so do modern Hawaiian producers. Productivity, therefore, is and should be an important part of modern Hawaiian economics.
c. This does not necessarily mean Hawaiians need to become workaholics. There is probably no cause for worry since making time to play and enjoy leisure is deeply ingrained in the Hawaiian psyche. (Kanahele, 1982c)

One of the fields which is often mentioned as being ripe for Hawaiians to enter as small businessmen is agriculture. For example, the Puwalu Conference (1978) identified taro-growing as an industry that they would like to see supported and encouraged by the State and the College of Tropical Agriculture. Participants apparently felt that a substantial number of Hawaiians might be interested in this type of "culturally-appropriate" agricultural activity. On the other hand, it is of interest to note other testimony that indicates that Hawaiians may not be very interested in agricultural pursuits. For example, Henning (1978) in a report on the youth of Molokai recorded the view that "few students are interested in careers in agriculture." While a recollection from Midkiff (1948) about The Kamehameha Schools' efforts during the 1920s to develop an agricultural training program suggests Hawaiians may never have been much interested in agricultural careers:

> It was thought that Kamehameha well might provide facilities to train boys so thoroughly that they would have a chance to make a success of the growing Hawaiian homestead and 'back to the land' movement. This was advocated as one factor in rehabilitating the Hawaiian People. Hahaione was set up to be a practical farm school. It did not prove attractive to our Hawaiian boys or to their parents.

Social Science Analysis

Accounts offered by anthroplogists and psychologists from the 1930s and 1940s have provided an historical perspective and commentary on Hawaiians and the mismatch between their traditional workstyles and the Western economic system. These accounts support the points enumerated above regarding Hawaiians and their work preferences. Burrows (1947), for example, noted:

> . . . steady work for wages was so foreign to their old culture that it had no value to appeal to them. As for work, most of that in their old life came in short bursts, spaced out by stretches of leisure. They enjoyed the bursts of work, which were also social gatherings, and gave scope for display of physical prowess. They enjoyed, even more, long intervals of sociable idleness. Spending the whole day in the cane fields was not only disagreeable, but, to their way of thinking, an inexcusable waste of time. They could see no sense in helping to produce inordinate quantities of sugar cane when they did not get the sugar, and could not have used it if they had. (p. 42)

In a similar retrospective commentary Porteus (1933) raised the following points:

> The accusation which is frequently levelled at the Hawaiian is that he is typical of his temperament; that he is generally supposed to be incapable of engaging in prolonged or arduous labor. It should be noted that this criticism is directed not only against the Hawaiians but against almost all native peoples who have come into competition with, or under the government of the dominant white race. Judged by the unwillingness of these peo-

ples to adjust themselves to the white man's tempo of living and working, the accusation seems to be justified. But what is rarely recognized is the fact that this apparent aversion to work is merely a lack of adaptation to an entirely new order of things, to a manner of living and acting that is foreign to the temperament of the peoples concerned. The new order of things has been enforced on them against their will and their apparent indolence may not signify laziness but a passive resistance to an alien culture, which is not naturally suited to their minds.

To those who are familiar with the merest outlines of Hawaiian history, the accusation of indolence is not applicable to the Polynesian as he was before the whites imposed an alien culture upon him. There are abundant evidences of Hawaiian industry. . . .

But what about the Hawaiian today? Is he not lazy? My answer would be that he is not lazy but idle and his idleness has come because with the coming of the whites, he was robbed of his need for activity. . . . Peace, not the peace of God, but the peace of idle inactivity has been imposed on the Hawaiian and the chief occupation of enforced idleness is mischief. The only place where the old warlike spirit can be evidenced is in the make-believe warfare of the football field and there the Hawaiian excels.

If Hawaiians indeed have a distinctive style of working that traces back ultimately to ancestral life in a subsistance economy, it is clear that adjustment in today's world might be difficult. This very issue was discussed in some detail by Dr. Haertig in Volume II of *Nana I Ke Kumu:*

> Let's look at *ukupau,* the Hawaiian principle, 'get the work done, then play.' Put a Hawaiian who believes in the *ukupau* principle in the Western system of work, and you may have incompatibility of man with system. The Western system says, 'Work a set number of hours. Function like a machine. Check out after eight hours.' Unless he can adapt, the Hawaiian remains on the bottom rung of the employment ladder because he is a misfit in the Western system. He will be called 'lazy' or 'nonproductive.' He will add to the 'lazy, nonproductive' stereotype. Actually, he is attuned to a different principle, one that is positive and workable within his own culture.
>
> Many Hawaiians have adjusted. These have advanced to supervisory, middle-management, and executive positions. Many have not adapted. The hard truth is that Western industry will probably never adapt to *ukupau.* Therefore, the Hawaiian will be better off economically if he can adapt to the Western system.
>
> But, must the Hawaiian negate part of his self-image — the Hawaiian in him — if he adapts? Not if he sees the change as a practical necessity, rather than casting off one aspect of being Hawaiian.
>
> Cling to the *ukupau* principle in shop or office where it will not work, and you can view your self-image as retaining that particular facet of Hawaiian-ness; but, you can also see yourself as a rebel, a bottleneck, a non-producer. Or, you can adapt to the prevailing work system, give up the part of self-image linked with *ukupau,* and continue to see yourself as being cooperative and in harmony with others. Both usually are Hawaiian qualities. (Pukui, Haertig, Lee, & McDermott, 1979, p. 309)

In addition to the *ukupau* tradition among Hawaiians, ethnographic research has indicated that Hawaiians tend to prefer working with friends and learning job skills in action-oriented situations where they have a personal relationship with their mentor. Dale et al. (1969) summarized ethnographic findings as follows:

> The importance of personal relationships for Hawaiians is also evidenced in Hawaiian employment habits and attitudes. In Nanakuli, Gallimore and Howard found that although younger men had had more education than their older counterparts, they had not entered higher paying, higher status jobs. From questionnaires and interviews, it was found that men preferred to enter jobs recommended to them by friends and to work their way up, learning on the job. They also preferred a situation where job training and supervision was very personal and action oriented rather than lecture or book oriented.

The employment patterns found have implications for education. Gallimore and Howard found that education did not significantly change the level at which men entered jobs but that it did affect upward mobility in employment. They concluded that education should not be vocational, for men preferred to learn on the job through actual work. What is needed is an education on life, patterned after the method most effective in ancient Hawaii, action oriented, meaningful activity useful for real immediate life situations.

This system was effective in the ancient culture and still carries over to the present. (p. 10)

The general educational strategy suggested here — change training and vocational education programs to make them more action-oriented, and thus more acceptable to Hawaiians — is somewhat different from the inspirational, "you-can-do-it-if-you-try" and "our-ancestors-used-to" approaches Kanahele seems to advocate.

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs
General Need Area: Problems at the Interface
Condition 3: Language

Condition Summary

Use of Hawaiian language has faded remarkably over the years as a result of systematic suppression and intentional disuse. In its stead, Hawaiian Creole English or "pidgin" has become the first language of many Hawaiians. While some educators still feel that use of pidgin interferes with educational progress, most recent research suggests this is not the case. Recommended contemporary practice dictates an accepting attitude vis-a-vis pidgin as well as development and use of educational activities that capitalize on subtle communicative conventions in common use among Hawaiians.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Training designed to teach standard English language usage skills (assimilation)
- Bi-lingual education programs that teach English as a second language, but which also allow students use of their first language (culturally compatible programming).

Testimony

Testimonial accounts from Native Hawaiians who were educated during the early 1900s indicate that use of the Hawaiian language was discouraged in school as well as in other settings. For example, excerpts from lengthy and sometimes colorful testimony describing the situation during that period include the following:

> Unfortunately, and I speak from experience, the Hawaiian language was forbidden as a spoken language in the Hawaiian home. We were told that to speak the Hawaiian language was to be 'Un-American.' My father of pure Hawaiian blood extraction did not speak it anymore after this ruling was made known. My mother, also Hawaiian but with little schooling, could not understand why she shouldn't, and so refused to comply. She spoke the language to us, her children, and thus, we came to understand it, but had to go to school to learn to speak it in later years (Margaret Apo, Bill 916, p. 44).

And...

> This goes back to the years about 1917, when I first started out to school. . . . Mrs. Jose . . . came and spoke to my parents and one of the things she may have said to my parents was, 'As much as possible, do not speak the mother tongue to us.'
>
> My father . . . called his children, the five of us who were attending the public schools and this is what he said . . . 'Your teacher came because she asked us, your parents, not to speak the mother tongue to you, to you children. I don't know how else I can communicate with you children. However, let's not think about that. But, I have these words to say to you. Listen to what I say to you now. Now that you are going to English speaking schools, you learn their language well and you learn their ways well.' He didn't instruct us to learn everything that they gave us. But these were his words:

'For you see, my children, you will be living in their time and the wise thing to do is to move with their times. Therefore, do not look back. There is only one thing I ask of you, my children, and that is, you remember who you are' (Pilahi Paki, Bill 916, p. 157).

Additional supportive evidence regarding the repression of Hawaiian language can be found in Waia'u (NHSC Testimony, 1982) and a recent newspaper account of a Richard Day presentation (Hollis, *Honolulu Advertiser*, May 5, 1982). Moreover, historical accounts of language instruction at The Kamehameha Schools give ample indication of the "battle" educators waged against the use of Hawaiian (e.g., Midkiff, 1948; Richards, 1928).

Social Indicator Data

Support for testimony to the effect that use of Hawaiian language has very nearly been wiped out during the past century comes from a "Ethnic and Language Survey" conducted by the State of Hawaii Department of Education during March, 1977. In brief, only 84 students, an extremely small percentage, listed Hawaiian as a functional primary or secondary language developed to the point where they would be considered "bilingual" or non-English speaking (cf., Agbayani, 1979). This small number of students stands in contrast to a total of 6,438 bi-lingual/foreign-speaking students whose primary language competence was in a language other than English.

Social Science Analysis

Hawaiian Creole English as a First Language. While use of the Hawaiian language is clearly not an interfering factor in the education of many Native Hawaiians, the dialect of English widely used in the State of Hawaii is sufficiently different from standard English to warrant consideration of many Hawaiian students as "bi-lingual." In technical terms linguists refer to this dialect as "Hawaiian Creole English;" locally, residents identify it as "pidgin." Regardless of the label applied, it is becoming increasingly clear that Native Hawaiians are frequently in fact bi-lingual. As Jordan, Au, and Joesting (in press) noted, "We think the case of Hawaiian students has special significance for educators working with populations of bilingual students. Most Hawaiian children grow up, not as speakers of the Hawaiian language, but as native speakers of a nonstandard dialect of English, Hawaiian Creole English" (p. 4).

Use of Pidgin Viewed as a Deficit. Numerous accounts of the history of education in Hawaii have detailed the fervor with which educators addressed their attention to the "English problem" in Hawaii's schools. Everything from "English Holidays" and special competitions and prizes for use of Standard English to the development of a two-track educational system with certain schools identified as "English Standard Schools" was used in an effort to encourage student use and mastery of Standard English (cf., Wist, 1940). In general, this emphasis appears to have been integral to a broader push towards Americanization, not only for Hawaii's indigenous natives but for the many Asian immigrants and offspring of immigrants who predominated in the public school system.

While condemnation of pidgin is less universal among educators today, there are still those who hold strong opinions about the role of language ability in determining long-range life outcomes, and correspondingly about the stance educators should adopt. For example:

> Deprivation in language development is the Hawaiian's most severe problem. The waste of human potential of the Hawaiian is tragic. It will continue as long as the Hawaiian continues to be inarticulate. It is neither cute nor funny, and the tragedy is that it is unnecessary (Briggs, NHSC Testimony, 1982, p. 1).

And...

> In Hawaii the most troubling manifestation of cultural separation which first shows up in the schools relates to difficulties in using the English language... The results [poor overall achievement of public school students] should not be read as indicators of particularly poor schools or unintelligent students. The immediate factor is that 'standard' English simply is not standard in the homes or lives of these children (Rapson, 1980; p. 97).

In addition to these comments, Rapson (1980) discussed a study conducted at the University of Hawaii using students enrolled in

introductory speech classes. Of 700 students involved, 61 percent described themselves as anxious about their speaking ability. This rate of "speech apprehension" compares with a 20 percent figure found in studies conducted on the Mainland. He further noted that "apprehensives," as they have been called, tend to be afflicted with a range of social, economic, and academic problems throughout their lives.

Such negative perspectives on non-standard language patterns were also widely held by educators concerned with minority education and the broader "war on poverty." In Hawaii, for example, Green (1970), in her work related to Hawaiians, pointed out that "there is ample evidence that the impoverished verbal behavior of ethnically distinct minority groups is an important factor in classroom communications problems." On the national level she referenced the work of Bernstein (1961), Deutsch (1964), and Reissman (1962), while references to local work included Gallimore (1968), MacDonald (1969), and Boggs (1969).

A Difference Interpretation. In recent years, linguists have emphasized a "difference" rather than a "deficit" interpretation. In Hawaii personnel at KEEP as well as others have studied the relationship between the use of pidgin and school achievement. The general conclusion they have reached is: use of pidgin does not interfere with school achievement; in fact, those who are very adept at pidgin also tend to be more skilled than their peers in use of standard English (cf., Ciborowski & Choy, 1974; Day, 1979; Feldman, Stone, Wertsch, & Strizich, 1977; Gallimore & Tharp, 1976; Speidel, 1981).

Feldman et al. (1977) discussed this issue in terms of a "trade-off hypothesis," i.e., there are some educators and language specialists who assume that those who are fluent in Hawaiian Creole English tend not to be fluent in Standard English and vice versa. Ciborowski and Choy (1974) found no support for this proposition, a finding later confirmed by Feldman et al (1977) with a rural, high school sample. These findings dovetail nicely since each used a different measure of linquistic competence. Feldman et al. also pointed out that Hawaiian youth tend to remain silent in class in spite of competence in two dialects of English. They hypothesized that this is because students feel they don't have any language for use in class: Hawaiian Creole English is generally considered inappropriate for classroom use; while at the same time students get so little practice speaking Standard English that they have little confidence in using it in any "public" setting in which errors could prove embarrassing.

As far as advice to educators goes, a growing consensus appears to be that it is best to incorporate Hawaiian Creole English into the school curriculum so that students will continue to develop their general language ability (e.g., Feldman et al., 1977; O'Donell & Tharp, 1982). This is also important because students need to verbalize some of the concepts dealt with in the classroom.

Status of Pidgin. Within local subcultural groups pidgin is considered "in." Its use is often a mandatory prerequisite for acceptance and status attainment; moreover, some observers note the use of pidgin as a form of cultural resistance against the generally middle class American values, preferences, and practices current in the schools. In the latter instance Hawaiian youth might be considered "soldiers of culture" because of their role in defending Hawaiian-American culture against the onslaughts of the dominant culture (Howard, 1972).

In spite of the within-culture status of pidgin, the overall status of the language in the greater community is still low. As a result, those who speak pidgin exclusively are susceptible to negative stereotyping and the possibility of developing low self-esteem as a function of continual negative feedback from representatives of the dominant culture. Furthermore, this is sometimes seen as one area in which Hawaiians might consider abandoning their minority culture preferences in the interest of survival in today's world (e.g., Pukui, Haertig, Lee, & McDermott, 1979, pp. 309 - 310).

Linguistic research has confirmed that the relative status of Standard English and Hawaiian Creole English is perceived by children in Hawaii as early as kindergarten and first grade (Day, 1980). For some linguists this finding points up the prejudices and biases in our culture in favor of Standard English. They note that there is no logical reason for the perceived superiority of one language over another since both languages are in all respects valid and complete in and of themselves. This developing and increasingly popular viewpoint on the part of linguists is in direct con-

trast to educational traditions in Hawaii where educators have stressed the need for eliminating pidgin (cf., McKaughan & Forman, 1981).

Evidence of Language Competence. Anthropological work has recently highlighted the culturally unique settings in which language competence of Hawaiian youth is most evident: the speech event known as "talk story." Accounts generally note that the rich language performance of Hawaiian youth in these familiar, comfortable settings provides stark contrast with the silent, withdrawn classroom behavior common among Hawaiians (Watson, 1975; Watson-Gegeo & Boggs, 1977). Additional work has looked closely at the conditions under which language performance is optimized (Boggs, 1978; Boggs & Watson-Gegeo, 1978).

Communicative Conventions. The situation-specific verbal responsiveness of Hawaiian youth (cf., Boggs, 1972) has led researchers at KEEP to pay close attention to subtle communicative conventions that appear to be culture specific. In general, their work has led them to hypothesize that incorporating some of these stylistic features from Hawaiian culture into the school curriculum will have beneficial effects on the achievement of Hawaiian youth (e.g., Au, 1981; Au & Mason, 1981; Jordan, Au, & Joesting, in press). Because this general area of investigation is rather new, it is important to give close consideration to the points of view that have been expressed.

A recent review of classroom interactions throughout Polynesia has been compiled by Jordan, Au, & Joesting (in press). As the following excerpt indicates these authors feel that the generally poor school performance of Polynesians — in a variety of different types of schools — may be due to the subtle differences in the styles of communication found in the home and in the classroom:

> For many Pacific Islands populations, formal institutional education stemming from a Euro-American tradition is not satisfactorily effective. This is true even in cases where home-school language differences, narrowly defined, do not exist. We will maintain that these difficulties arise because of the existence of differences in communicative conventions. For many Pacific Islands children, there are dramatic differences between the communicative conventions of their homes and those they encounter in their classrooms. This is so in spite of the fact that a wide variety of classroom practices are found in Pacific Islands schools and practices vary among classrooms and between school systems. Classrooms in French Polynesia, for example, are quite different from the American schools of Hawaii. Having acknowledged this variety, however, it must also be acknowledged that judged by results, sets of classroom practices suited to Pacific Island populations appear to occur relatively infrequently, and teachers and children throughout the Pacific often find themselves mutually puzzled and frustrated by breakdowns of communication, and thus of education (p. 2).

The pattern of behavior that prompted researchers to look closely at subtle dimensions of communicative interactions in school settings is the situational nature of verbal responsiveness among Hawaiians. This is a pattern that has apparently been found across a number of minority groups, as Au (1981) has noted:

> An important question, then, is that of how the verbal responsiveness of young, minority children may be increased (or channeled appropriately) in classroom-learning contexts. There is much evidence to suggest that their lack of responsiveness is highly situation specific. With Native American children a general pattern of findings is emerging in studies across a range of different groups (the work of Boggs (1972) with Hawaiians; Dumont (1972) with Cherokee and Sioux; Philips (1972) with Warm Springs Indians; Erickson and Mohatt (1977) with Odawa; and Van Ness (1977) with Athabaskans). Children in all the classrooms observed were likely to respond less well in situations in which they were singled out to recite before the group, with their answers being subject to public evaluation by the teacher. These studies show that the children may in no way be characterized as nonverbal or linguistically handicapped, although there are settings in which they may appear so (p. 92).

A large part of the problem for minority youth may be simply that they have more to learn upon school entry than do children who may be more in tune with majority culture behavioral and linguistic patterns. As Jordan et al. (in press) noted, there may be two major learning tasks facing such children:

> . . . there are two aspects of successful performance in the classroom. A child must not only know the content of the correct answer, he must also know how to present that answer in a way that will be socially acceptable to the teacher. Following this line of logic, it seems reasonable to conclude that the minority child, whatever his first language may be, often enters school with two strikes against him. Unlike majority culture children, he must not only learn academic content but a new set of communicative conventions at the same time (p. 1).

One way in which schools may make the task of minority culture children more manageable is to offer classroom lessons in styles which are acceptable and at least partially recognizable by these children. This general approach is part of what KEEP personnel have come to refer to as "culturally compatible education." In their own case they have found KEEP's successful reading lesson methods to be similar in many ways to the Hawaiian speech event, "talk story," that is familiar to, and enjoyable for, many Hawaiian youngsters:

> . . . the KEEP reading lesson is successful partly because it shares with talk story and storytelling the features of a socially relevant, receptive adult, mutual participation and co-narration. The reading lesson and talk story and storytelling are also alike in that all may be settings for learning, although a reading lesson is always directed at this goal while talk story and storytelling are only occasionally so directed. Still, talk story and storytelling may be viewed as instances of informal learning (Au & Jordan, 1981, p. 149).

Learning to Read. The overall academic achievement records of Hawaiian youth as a group clearly indicate that learning to read is a major educational problem. One reflection of the importance of this problem in Hawaii is the fact that the KEEP program has made reading instruction the major focus of its research and development efforts.

In studying the factors that contribute to and inhibit the development of reading skills, KEEP researchers have given careful consideration to language factors. As noted above, it has been well-established that Hawaiian youngsters live in a bi-dialectic environment in which a non-standard dialect of English is generally spoken at home and in the local community, while Standard English is commonly used in school and in the mass media. Given this general situation many have hypothesized that speaking Hawaiian Creole English, or "pidgin," is likely to interfere with reading skill development. KEEP researchers, however, have concluded that this is not the case:

> The inquiry [regarding the language interference hypothesis] should be reworded to ask whether unfamiliarity with the standard language, or with the language spoken at school, results in reading or other school difficulties. The point is illustrated best by using two different languages as an example. Thus, speaking English does not interfere with learning to read French, but not knowing French makes learning to read in that language very difficult. Similarly, speaking Hawaiian English does not interfere with learning to read in English, but a lack of familiarity with standard English probably would make learning to read in English extremely laborious (Speidel, 1981; p. 23).

At KEEP, then, their perspective on language development has lead to an emphasis on teaching Standard English without interfering with the use of pidgin. This general perspective is reflected in Speidel's (1979) summary with respect to language issues:

> This overview of recent research on the language skills of low-income Hawaiian Creole-speaking children has produced a complex picture. In some situations they seem to have substantial knowledge in standard English, on rare occasions even performing better in standard English than in their first dialect. On other measures they appear to be lagging behind standard English-speaking children of the same age. However, when everything is considered, it appears that these child-

ren would benefit from an oral language development program. Instruction fostering their automatic production of standard English syntax and morphology seem particularly important in light of the fact that this is the area of their greatest difficulty and that this skill appears to be a facilitating factor in learning to read (pp. 8-9).

Speidel also noted that any such oral language development program should probably emphasize elicitation of language in a natural context rather than in pattern-repetition. This perspective dovetails nicely with the anthropologists' emphasis on "culturally compatible" educational methods. In KEEP's comprehension-oriented reading program, then, the emphasis on maintaining a natural flow of verbal exchange apparently satisfies both cultural idiosyncracies as well as language stimulation needs (Speidel, 1981).

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs

General Need Area: Problems at the Interface

Condition 4: Peer Orientation

Condition Summary

Hawaiian youth generally bring to school years of experience in sibling-directed socialization systems. This experience is thought to be the basis of strong affiliative tendences typically manifested as a very strong peer orientation, preference for group interaction with adults, and reluctance to participate in the individualistic, commonly competitive circumstances found in most school settings. Some observers feel that it is the very strong peer orientation of Hawaiian youth that provides the key to promoting their success in the classroom.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Family change or intervention programs that encourage adult caretaking (at home or in a day care setting) as opposed to sibling child care (assimilation).
- Modification of school and other key social institutions to make them more amenable to group activities and to group recognition (culturally compatible programming).

Social Science Analysis

Polynesian Family Systems. In general, Polynesian family systems are markedly different from the nuclear systems typical of European/American industrial societies. As such they have always drawn considerable attention from outside observers, whether as curiosities, distinct cultural features, or indicators that "civilizing" remediation and enlightenment was in order.

Among the features noted throughout Polynesia are the following:

- multiple caretaking or parenting;
- sharing of children within the extended family through adoption or "foster care" (e.g., Hawaiian practices of *hanai* and *luhi*);
- early indulgence of infants followed by distinct and rapid initiation into a system of sibling caretaking.

These three key features were found among Samoans (Mead, 1961), Tahitians (Levy, 1968, 1973), Hawaiians (Beaglehole, 1937; Forster, 1959; Handy & Pukui, 1972; Kenn, 1939), and other groups as well (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1979). It has primarily been in Hawaii, though, that recent ethnographic study has closely examined the impact on school achievement of children's being reared in the prototypical Polynesian system.

Early Peer Orientation. "The Shift," as the transition from infancy to toddlerhood/young adolescence has been called, can be viewed from several perspectives. On the one hand it has often appeared to Western observers that Polynesian mothers "reject" their toddlers; and indeed, the overt behaviors around this time tend to suggest such a conclusion. Others, though, have stressed that the maternal behaviors are simply a means of initiation and socialization of young children into the family system (Gallimore, Boggs, & Jordan, 1974).

The family system in many modern Hawaiian families tends to match or at least mirror general Polynesian patterns in terms of sibling caretaking, which came as something of a surprise to anthropologists who worked with the Hawaiian Community Research Project during the late 1960s. Spon-

sored by the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in an effort to provide clues to understanding the social problems of Hawaiians, researchers only gradually came to appreciate the uniqueness, from a Western view, of the Hawaiian family system and the salience of sibling caretaking. The push in this direction came both from mothers who appeared puzzled by certain types of interview questions as well as from adolescents who clearly had substantial involvement in childcare and home maintenance functions (Howard, 1971; Weisner & Gallimore, 1977).

The general picture of childrearing that eventually emerged from this work was that of families in which toddlers were assigned to specific older siblings who in turn directed and instructed the younger ones in tasks related to household operation and management. The "shared function" organization of the family was such that all members had specific, valued roles to play in maintaining the home. In general, adults played only an indirect role in the system: they fully expected the older siblings to watch after and instruct their young charges, to maintain order, and to insure smooth household functioning. Furthermore, the sibling group was accorded the autonomy to organize and divide tasks up as they saw fit, it being understood that as a group they had specific areas of joint responsibility (Gallimore, Boggs, & Jordan, 1974; Jordan, Gallimore, Sloggett, & Kubany, 1968).

Within the above system interaction with peers, mutual help, and learning from a variety of individuals begin at an early age and become the modal day-to-day experiences typical of family life. The fact that such experiences tend to produce school-age youth who are extremely peer-oriented is not surprising. However, it may come as a surprise that students reared under these conditions seem to have major educational problems stemming from their social and communicative preferences. Specific areas that are most affected appear to be interaction with adults, style of learning, as well as basic values that are central to success in most school systems.

Deficit or Difference? When the Hawaiian Community Research Project first went to Nanakuli in the latter part of the 1960s common explanations for poor school achievement of Hawaiians centered on motivational factors: Hawaiians were seen as generally unmotivated, a condition proportedly stemming from a prevailing lack of parental support for educational endeavors (cf., Howard, 1982).

Through the late 1960s and early 1970s the social scientists studying the etiology of educational difficulties among Hawaiians strongly objected to various deficit explanations current at the time. In their view a variety of mismatches between the cultural/familial experiences of many Hawaiians and the expectations of educators regarding the behavior of students in the classroom resulted in communication impasses that eventually resulted in school problems. For example, the following is an early analysis of allegations regarding poor attention span.

> One very clear implication of these ideas is the inappropriateness for Nanakuli children of the typical classroom arrangement: one adult in the front of the room with twenty-five to forty youngsters attending and orienting to his influence attempts. If one watches a kindergarten or first grade for any length of time, it is clear that a large proportion of time is devoted to strengthening this habit: a group of individuals, each of whom focuses on a single adult authority for directions, correction, and guidance. However, such a system assumes that children are accustomed to being dependent upon adults for such things, and that children have relatively weaker tendencies to attend to peers. Neither of these assumptions can be said to be entirely true of the children in Nanakuli. But it does not follow that they have a poor attention span. What does follow is the notion that it may take a different set of social conditions in the classroom to elicit the kind of attending habits which facilitate learning (Gallimore, MacDonald, & Boggs, 1968, p. 35).

Clearly, the peer orientation of Hawaiians, although not a deficit in an objective sense, was viewed as a major underlying factor in the development of problems within an unbending educational system.

For the past decade the KEEP project has followed up on several lines of investigation that can be linked in varying degrees to their original survey findings. These have included motivational systems in the classroom, teacher training programs, development and testing of curriculum management systems, as well as

curriculum development per se. This coordinated research effort has turned up any number of unanticipated findings; however, the key role of early socialization experiences under sibling care conditions in producing student/system mismatches has remained a central consideration. The following excerpt from Tharp, Sloat, Gallimore, and Au (1978) summarizes the KEEP perspective on this issue.

> . . . we want to tell you a bit about the Hawaiian child, and discuss the failure of fit of conventional schools to the Hawaiian. If there is one single sentence to sum up the problem, it is this: **Hawaiian children are remarkably peer-oriented, rather than adult-oriented**. Presumably this results from a pattern of sibling caretaking, in which older sisters — and sometimes brothers — are primary caretakers and socialization agents for younger children. This produces children who are vigorous, socially skilled, talkative, affectionate, and aggressive; it produces children, when they arrive on the first day of kindergarten, for whom the ordinary school is unprepared. I am speaking in generalities, for emphasis; our children appear in a wide range of personalities. But when compared to Caucasian, Japanese or Chinese children in Hawaii, they are in fact notably different, and they are not the children for whom the schools have been designed.
>
> Hawaiian children are **peer**-oriented; the schools are designed for **adult** orientation. Hawaiian children typically **avoid** adults; the school adult is inescapable. The school adult is designed to **teach**; the child's expectation of her is to be 'auntie' — aunties are sometimes stern, sometimes indulgent, but aunties no more expect to teach than children expect to be taught by them. In short, the school's expectation of close attention, approach, and clear orientation to the teacher produces an **immediate** failure of fit between the two cultures of the school and of the Hawaiian child. In the eyes of educators, this results in children described as rowdy, restless, disinterested, inattentive, lazy, and provocative.
>
> In the ordinary school setting, those descriptions are not so inaccurate. . . . But even in our own school, substitute teachers (who are untrained in our system) quickly lose control, and the old stereotypic behaviors emerge — sometimes chaotically; and the substitute teacher is loath to return. I am actually understating the problem: three weeks ago, a substitute teacher spent the morning with our kindergarten, and the afternoon in tears. Another sub, an excellent teacher from Alabama, after one day with our first grade, declared it 'the worst day of my life. Please,' she said, 'never call me again.' (p. 4-5)

Research on Peer Orientation in School Settings. As with any specific childrearing practice, sibling caretaking is not universal among Hawaiian families. For one thing, it is simply not possible with the firstborn or in families with one child. Furthermore, there is considerable variability within Hawaiian families across socioeconomic and urban/rural dimensions. Because sibling care was found to be prominent in one rural homestead community (Gallimore et al., 1974) does not necessarily mean that the same pattern will be found in other rural or urban settings. In this regard, though, Weisner (1977) reported evidence of substantial sibling care among KEEP families in urban Honolulu.

In addition to confirmation of sibling care outside the one rural community studied, major studies focused specifically on the sibling care issue have examined attention in the classroom. For example, Gaile (1974) found that rural students from large families — presumably families in which substantial sibling caretaking occurs — tended to be less attentive to their teachers. With respect to peer tutors, meanwhile, two studies have shown that sibling care experiences for boys are associated with greater attention to a peer tutor, a relationship not found among girls (Fukuda, 1975; Gallimore, Tharp, & Speidel, 1978). One conclusion reached at KEEP on the basis of these findings was that peer tutoring is not likely to be a key answer to the unique educational needs of Hawaiian youth (Gallimore, Tharp, & Speidel, 1975). Other observational and sociometric studies of peer leadership and power structure among Hawaiian youngsters are still in progress at KEEP (cf., Jordan, D'Amato, & Joesting, 1981).

Culturally Compatible Educational Programs. The overall rationale and operational

reality for a marriage involving anthropology and educational research at KEEP has been offered in several reviews (e.g., Jordan, 1981; Jordan & Tharp, 1979; Weisner, 1977).

In general, anthropological input at KEEP has resulted in three types of outcomes (cf., Weisner, 1977):

- reversal of some cultural patterns;
- neutrality or non-involvement with other patterns;
- positive emphasis and encouragement of some patterns.

With peer orientation, for example, it was clearly necessary to reverse the strong existing social preferences of Hawaiian youth in some school contexts, simply because the teacher would never be able to effectively teach students who were constantly talking to one another. At the same time, peer-oriented group exchange was intentionally included, or at least identified and noted as appropriate, in circumstances such as the creation and use of learning centers and inclusion of group exchange and discussion in the reading lessons (Au & Jordan, 1981; Jordan, 1981).

Implication for Early Childhood Education. In a thorough review of the literature on sibling caretaking Weisner and Gallimore (1977) covered several positive outcomes associated with such arrangements. For example, they noted the impact on the family of creating more role flexibility for mothers: being relieved of many routine childcare and household tasks under sibling involvement conditions, mothers would be more available for planning and carrying out special activities such as outings or unusual activities at home. The result would be a greater diversity of experience for all family members. It was also noted that experiences as a caretaker at a young age may tend to act as a screening experience that reduces the likelihood of unplanned or uninformed parenthood. Moreover, such experiences may serve a training for parenthood function. A much less positive perspective was offered by Sutton-Smith (1977) as a discussant for the Weisner and Gallimore review. His interpretation of childrearing literature in general is that "the dominance of the single caretaking mother is associated with cultural complexity, more diversified individual child personality, child achievement, and child creativity." He also expressed concerns about the competence of siblings in their performance of major caretaking tasks:

> The recent literature emphasizes over and over again that maximal personal and social development of infants is produced by the mother (or caretaker) who interacts with them in a variety of stimulating and playful ways. Unfortunately the intelligence to do this with ever more exciting contingencies is simply not present in child caretakers. It is difficult enough to impart these ideas of infant stimulation even to mothers. As the review demonstrates so well, children as major caretakers maintain social life at a much lower level and restrict individual differences (p. 184).

He further suggested that: "Complex cultures require forms of child training that heighten diversity, which siblings do by their rivalry rather than by their caretaking" (p. 184).

The contrasting viewpoints offered here seem to represent two extremes of a continuum of opinion regarding poverty, school achievement, and preferred intervention paradigm. In general, the Weisner and Gallimore view tends to be preservationist and nonjudgemental, as well as very practical and parsimonious. Sutton-Smith, on the other hand, appears to favor various early childhood educational interventions that explicitly advocate change of at least some culturally-based behaviors — primarily those that appear to be problematic in terms of adjustment and success in today's world. For educators, these contrasting professional interpretations on the part of social scientists leave the way open for different educational approaches.

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs

General Need Area: Problems at the Interface

Condition 5: Interaction with Adults

Condition Summary

Interaction between Hawaiian children and their teachers is impaired by cultural socialization practices that de-em-

phasize certain patterns of verbal exchange. For example, direct questions to a child by an adult may be interpreted as displeasure or ridicule, and interaction with adults on a one-to-one basis may be unfamiliar since direct communication is ordinarily with peers rather than adults. Furthermore, while adults at home often do not expect immediate compliance with verbal requests, teachers do; and when adults are punitive or critical, a child's learned preference seems to be withdrawal or avoidance, a response that teachers find disconcerting. Finally, Hawaiian youth may be further inhibited in school by the emotional neutrality of teachers, a characteristic that makes them less salient and results in reduced student attentiveness.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Early childhood education designed to teach "survival skills" such as how to interact with dominant-culture adults (assimilation).
- Teacher training and curriculum revision efforts designed to change school settings such that teacher/student interaction becomes comfortable for both parties (culturally compatible programming).

Testimony

While educational researchers have only recently begun to seriously examine the "competence/incompetence paradox" with respect to the educational performance of minority youth (cf., Gallimore & Au, 1979), the basic condition — i.e., minority students who appear to be inept and slow to learn in school settings, but who can handle complex tasks and problems in out-of-school settings — may be one that minority group members themselves have long been aware of. For example, the following testimonial statement suggests that Hawaiians themselves acknowledge discrepencies between their school performance and behavior and what they personally know to be their competence or level of knowledge:

> We've always been shy people and in school competing against, like I say, children of our own level, but we still feel so shame to give the answer to the teacher even if we knew it. Perhaps, our teachers didn't recognize this in us, that we knew the answers but were too shy to come forward with it, so we were always considered stupid, unintelligent, not able to cope with comprehending the lesson of the day (Lovey Apana, Bill 916, p. 206).

Social Science Analysis

Ethnographic accounts of community and family life in predominately Hawaiian communities have noted the prevalence of peer or sibling caretaking along with concomitant patterns of adult-child interaction (e.g., Gallimore, Boggs, & Jordan, 1974; Howard, 1974). In brief, it appears that substantial involvement with siblings as caretakers generally commences at about two years of age. Along with this change, the role of adults in the lives of young children and consequently the strategies of interaction on the part of children with adults also shifts. Howard (1972), for example, suggested that the limited interaction with adults which does occur is often in the context of a parental talk assignment (e.g., sweep the floor, clear the dinner table, etc.) or as a result of parental desire for play and nurturance or for public display of affection. In either case the opportunities for interaction with adults in the home setting are typically infrequent, occuring at unpredictable intervals. Howard's (1972) interpretation of the optimal strategy on the child's part in the face of such conditions was as follows:

> A. When parents are punitive or critical, a child's best strategy is to withdraw, avoid, or inhibit. Under such circumstances there is little point in being attentive because the additional information provided by parental cues is of little utility; nothing he can do is likely to elicit a rewarding response. As a result, task performance can be expected to decrease when children raised in this mode have been criticized or subjected to disapproval.
>
> B. When parents are in a nurturant mood, it pays the child to be maximally attentive, for scarce rewards are most likely to be obtained under such conditions. The value of rewards obtained is comparatively greater than for middle-class children precisely because they are not as freely dispensed. Therefore task performance can be expected to increase following periods of nurturance and social approval.

C. When parents are paying no attention to a child, his best strategy is to remain unobtrusive, but observant to cues that signal the vicissitudes of parental moods. Should he discover a shift toward nurturance, it may pay to enter their social field; a shift toward anger or sullenness is a cue to withdraw completely. Parental neutrality is therefore associated with an intermediate level of children's attentiveness. We would expect intermediate levels of task performance in the absence of either marked approval or disapproval (Howard 1972, pp. 17-18).

Educational researchers working in Hawaii have noted that the social organization functions and the participation structures in home as opposed to school settings are disjunctive enough to result in adjustment difficulties on the part of many school-age Hawaiian youngsters. For example, one-to-one interactions between children and adults in many Hawaiian homes tend to occur primarily when adults are upset trying to deal with a problem situation, or punishing the child. In most school settings, in contrast, one-to-one question and answer exchanges between teacher and student tend to be common, or may even be considered the optimal educational experience for students. Unfortunately, many Hawaiian youngsters interpret the direct questioning and the singling out of individuals as cues that the teacher, an adult, is unhappy or trying to embarass the person being questioned (cf., Jordan, Au, & Joesting, in press). The withdrawal and silence on the part of Hawaiian youth under such circumstances can be disconcerting for teachers, and for the culturally unaware teachers, may eventually lead to major conflict in the classroom.

In addition, problems may arise because of differences in adult expectations of children. For example, teachers often expect verbal requests to be acted upon immediately, while many Hawaiian parents are less demanding, accepting eventual rather than immediate action (cf. Boggs, 1979).

Another key element of style of interaction revolves around the issue of personal vs. impersonal approaches to working relationships. Dale et al (1969), for example, suggested the following:

> In *Na Makamaka O Nanakuli* another important Hawaiian cultural value cited was that there are no personal or impersonal relationships, but only personal relationships with various degrees of intensity.
>
> Problems arise when this Hawaiian cultural value is superimposed on the classroom situation. The traditional setting demands a hierarchy of roles. The administration and teachers are bound to perform certain roles in order to maintain the policies and structure of the educational system. For someone who is not used to relating impersonally according to a prescribed role, a teacher's anger at deviant school behavior (no matter how well justified the anger is) is bound to be misunderstood. Too many young people in predominantly Hawaiian areas are embittered toward teachers and administrators because of the failure on the part of these people to respond to them personally and because of the young person's inability to understand impersonal, hierarchical relationships. (pp. 9 - 10)

Finally, detailed studies of verbal interaction have highlighted the salience of spontaneous verbal play as a speech event. Boggs (1977), for example, suggested that there are six different kinds of home speech events involving Hawaiian children under five years of age and adults. According to his analysis these fall into two broad categories: "(a) those in which parents and other adult family members entertained small children with verbal play, and (b) those which occurred when the parent was upset, trying to deal with a problem situation, or punishing the child." The former, he claimed, lead Hawaiian youngsters to prefer spontaneity and fun in speech events, a stylistic dimension that has apparently been incorporated as much as possible into culturally appropriate teaching methods in use at KEEP (cf. Au, 1981).

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs

General Need Area: Problems at the Interface

Condition 6: Learning Style

Condition Summary

Beyond individual differences in learning style, Hawaiians tend to exhibit a cul-

turally-related style that does not match well with prevailing educational practices. In simple terms it appears that Hawaiians have a preference for "learning by doing." Whether this is rooted in early socialization experiences with strong peer involvement or cultural traditions emphasizing apprenticeship learning, it is clear that observation, modeling, mutual participation, and direct intervention are key processes. Meanwhile, use of isolated verbal directions and out-of-context statements or rules or principles, both common in educational settings, are rare. In addition, educational researchers have noted that Hawaiian youth often fail to apply outside knowledge and cognitive skills to classroom challenges and that they tend to adopt passive rather than active learning roles.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Family intervention/early childhood education designed to teach verbal reasoning and similarly related cognitive skills (assimilation).
- Teacher training and curriculum revision so that the preferred or existing learning styles of minority youth can be used effectively in school (culturally compatible programming).

Testimony

Perhaps one of the strongest points of agreement between spontaneous comments by Hawaiians and anthropological interpretations lies in the area of learning style. That is, Hawaiians themselves describe their style of learning as different from the norm within the dominant culture For instance, the following testimony came from Ilima Williams:

> Hawaiians learned by doing. The teachers were the *kupuna* (elders). The *kupuna* were revered and held a special place in the community. The *makua* (parents) and *na'opio* (children) provided for the subsistence of the village, while the *kupuna* taught. Their way of life was rich in spiritual beliefs. These beliefs, a deep sense of harmony with the environment, were so necessary that it provided a fulfilling life for thousands of people for hundreds of years in a relatively small area. (Bill 916, p. 87)

Perhaps the key phrase here is "learn by doing," since this concept of an active, participatory learning style is one that anthropologists have also stressed. Darrow Aiona explained further, emphasizing the non-directive nature of instructor/learner interaction as well as the selection process which was largely beyond the control of the individual.

> Awareness of *kapu* (the sacred setting aside) associated with learning is something many Hawaiians grew up with. There were certain qualities about you that were recognized by the elders. They didn't actually teach you. They selected you and placed you in situations where you absorbed knowledge. It is especially hard to communicate this sort of thing to non-Hawaiians, unless it is one who has lived and been brought up in this environment to see the values of Hawaiian culture and the *kapu* placed on things. You can't teach this. It's something that has to come from within.
>
> And this is how we get to know things. They are handed down from generation to generation and becomes a living part of the individual. This is part of being a Hawaiian that cannot be taught — it's just there. And only certain people can pass them on. Only certain people, certain families, inherit these different aspects of our Hawaiian culture and are entitled to pass them on. (Bill 916, pp. 57 - 58)

It is not clear how much of traditional learning style survives today — at least in terms of *kupuna* instruction, community designation or instructor designation of who will learn what, spiritual embeddedness of learning, etc. However, anthropologists who were hired to document contemporary culturally-related practices among Hawaiians focused closely on learning style. One interpretation of a key finding from this work came from Myron Thompson:

> ... When I was working with Hawaiian parents on all parts of this Island I found a tremendous desire among almost all of them for their children to achieve an education. But something interesting is being turned up in some studies that Alan Howard, Ron Gallimore, and Steve Boggs have been doing in Nanakuli.

It ties in with the way Hawaiian children are raised, and it shows why the usual method of teaching may not fit them.

QUESTION: Can you explain?

ANSWER: The usual method of teaching is for the pupils to relate to the teacher directly, student to adult, almost on a personal basis.

But Howard and Gallimore find that Hawaiian children don't respond to this. They think it may have something to do with family life, with big families.

The youngster gets a heck of a lot of care when he's in the crib. But when he starts to walk and talk and raise heck, particularly in a big family, he's relegated to an older brother or sister to take care of. He doesn't deal much with adults. Pretty soon this kid ties in with the sibling system, learns more from them than from his parents.

Howard and his gang took this same process into the classroom and found that children relate much better to each other than to the teacher.

Now if the teacher can relate to the group as a group, instead of personally, then these youngsters can really respond and learn. (*Honolulu Star Bulletin*, August 24, 1972)

As suggested here, the social scientists who have most intensively studied Hawaiian youth and their style of learning do emphasize the strong peer orientation of many Hawaiians and the ways in which this type of social behavior can be problematic in school settings.

Social Science Analysis

Ethnographic findings. The ethnographic work alluded to above (e.g. Gallimore and Howard, 1968; Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan, 1974; Howard 1974) reported what appeared to the researchers to be distinctive patterns of learning in the contemporary Hawaiian context. The two examples most frequently cited involve vocational training patterns and the organization of home management functions. For instance, with respect to vocational skill development Jordan (1981) recalled that:

> . . . it was discovered that many of the men had acquired their first work skills by going to the job with an older, employed relative or friend and for a time, simply observing the job being carried out. Gradually the younger man would begin to participate in the work, doing increasingly larger or more complex pieces of the task. Finally the younger man would become skillful enough to try for a smaller job of his own. This was a much more common course than any formal schooling or training program. (p. 33)

Similarly, in the house setting researchers noted a comparable observe, do, and learn paradigm in which older siblings passed on the knowledge and skills essential to home management — often with little or no input from adults.

The general pattern described here appears to be consistent with traditional apprenticeship modes of instructor/student interaction. Gutmanis (1977), for example, noted that "no matter when the novice began his training it was based on the one-to-one relationship of a strict apprenticeship" (p. 38). In this case she was describing the training of *Kahuna La'au Lapa'au* (healers), but the pattern apparently occurred in most fields.

While contemporary Hawaiians "learn by observing/doing" may be less formal than its traditional counterpart, it still relies heavily on the one-to-one relationships. Within this context, however, there appear to be several distinctive features.

Instructional style. If Hawaiian teaching — learning interactions were to be characterized with a simple label, it might well be "non-verbal." Essentially, the same type of instructional style has been described for Hawaiian mothers teaching their own children (e.g. Jordan, 1976, 1977) as well as for school-age youth working with their peers (e.g. Jordan, 1981).

A key feature of Hawaiian instructional style is what KEEP's anthropologists have termed "enterprise engagement" or "mutual participation." In short, learning typically occurs in situations in which **both** teacher and learner participate actively in a common task. More importantly, though, the teaching is often limited to non-verbal demonstration ("modeling") or direct assistance ("intervention") **without** verbal statements of general rules or other descriptive commentary. (cf; Jordan, 1981).

Au and Jordan (1981) briefly described Hawaiian peer teaching style, contrasting it

with typical teacher styles:

> KEEP children working with other children rely very little on rule statement as a teaching device; rather, their teaching-learning interactions revolve around the successful completion of the task at hand. Adult school teachers, in contrast, are likely to use much more rule statement. They are inclined to tell children general principles, then leave them to work out particular applications of the principles to particular tasks. With both the peer and "school teacher" styles, rules are eventually learned; the difference between the two styles is that the former depends on inductive reasoning through experience with repeated examples while the latter depends on deductive reasoning. (p. 150)

The same general pattern — contextualized learning without much verbal exchange and rarely involving statements of general rules — also seems to be characteristic of the home setting. Its predominance may be one of the reasons Hawaiian children find school so confusing:

> We have observed with Hawaiian children that teaching and learning are often embedded in the routine performance of necessary tasks. Events which are designed solely for the purpose of teaching children are relatively rare. Rather, teaching is generally part and parcel of the complete execution of skills and tasks, and the child's learning proceeds with this framework. In mainstream Anglo-American culture, there are adult-directed speech events designed largely or solely to instruct the young. In Hawaiian culture, on the other hand, these kinds of events occur less often, perhaps so seldom that young children entering school do not know how to respond to them. In the absence of a task completion framework, the children may not understand what the teacher is trying to accomplish. (Jordan, Au, & Joesting, in press, p. 27)

Cognitive Development. Given that Hawaiian instructional style tends to be demonstrative and non-verbal, individuals interested in child development may immediately think of the cognitive development implications. Part of this stems from the work of the 1960s that discussed "elaborative" and "restrictive" verbal codes in terms of their impact on conceptual development. In general, the findings of the period suggested that "restricted" verbal interaction resulted in more limited conceptual development. In Hawaii, issues along this line were discussed by Werner, Bierman, and French (1971) following their extensive longitudinal work on Kauai. The following is a rather controversial passage, which many interpreted as being indicative of a "deficit" orientation to the interpretation of their findings.

> Many of the social class differences in cognitive development of children which are beginning to be noticeable in the second year of life are likely to center around parental stimulation of the development of language skills. . . . An example of a "restrictive" language is the island dialect of Kauai, a modified form of pidgin English. It is spoken in more than 90 percent of the lower-class families, but only in a minority of middle- and upper-class homes. It has a primitive grammar and word structure, uses simple, concrete verb-noun, verb-pronoun combinations, is repetitive, and makes extensive use of expressive vocal features.
>
> Early and consistent exposure to this type of language can lead to less abstraction and more simple relational responses, as we found in an analysis of language development and reading problems among the Kauai children (Werner, Simonian, and Smith 1967) and as Hess and Shipman (1965) have shown in their study of contrasting verbal styles among middle- and lower-class Negro mothers and their preschool children. 'The meaning of deprivation,' in the view of these authors, 'is a deprivation of meaning' (p. 60).

This line of reasoning is viewed by many who conduct cross-cultural studies as unnecessarily enthnocentric and even threatening to culturally different minority groups. KEEP researchers, for example, have frequently emphasized that Hawaiians may display differences, but that there are no deficits. This can be seen in the ethnographic reports that continually stress the capacity for independent work on the part of Hawaiian children in the

home setting, the self-organization into work squads, the verbal fluidity associated with "talk story," etc. (cf., O'Donnell & Tharp, in press, p. 30). They also point out that Hawaiians have trouble with reading in spite of their average ability as measured by intelligence tests:

> On a variety of standardized measures of general verbal and cognitive ability, children entering KEEP score below average. By the end of kindergarten, however, they obtain average and better general ability scores. But these gains in verbal/cognitive ability do not alone produce average levels of reading achievement, despite the fact the general ability tests are highly correlated with reading test scores. Verbal/cognitive abilities are necessary but not sufficient to produce average reading. (Sloat, Tharp, Gallimore & Au, 1978).

The following passage from Tharp, Sloat, Gallimore and Au (1978) summarizes the knowns and the current hypotheses:

> The children work hard . . . They have communicative competence. There are no signs that speaking Hawaiian Creole seriously interferes with learning to read. KEEP classes have average or better verbal and cognitive ability scores. Why should they have below average reading achievement?
>
> Close observation of the children at the KEEP school suggests some possible reasons. Given a slightly new or altered task, KEEP children often fail to use skills they are known to have used on similar tasks; they frequently do not relate their experiences to school tasks, unless directly prompted. They are likely to adopt a passive rather than active learning role. They approach each problem as a new and different task, rather than perceiving it as an instance of a class of problems which might require similar solutions. They do not use language to describe tasks and what they require. . .
>
> These observations suggest the children do not apply their existing abilities to classroom tasks. Why they do not we can only speculate. (p. 31)

Educational Intervention. While one approach to intervention in cases where non-verbal interaction style has been found has been to create a special preschool home-visit program designed to "enhance" verbal interaction in poor families (e.g., Levenstein, 1975), KEEP clearly advocates a different approach — change the school to accomodate to the different learning styles and cognitive strategies of culturally different minorities. Jordan (1981) summarized this view as follows.

> One of the reasons that children of many minority groups experience difficulty in school is that they have learned to learn in ways that differ from the ways in which their teachers have learned to teach. Schools are aware of individual differences among children and attempt to adapt to these. KEEP has operated on the premise that it is also possible and desirable for schools to adapt to cultural differences. The assumption is that the correct course, for both practical and ethical reasons, is not to attempt to change the children or their families to fit the schools, but rather to modify the schools in ways that will allow them to serve minority children more effectively. (p. 16).

In KEEP's case some of the adjustments they have made include changes in classroom organization and management patterns, acceptance of non-Standard English, provision of opportunities for peer interaction and assistance, restructuring of reading instruction to allow for culturally preferred patterns of verbal interaction, and addition of cognitive training elements in the reading curriculum to adjust for differences in cognitive strategies.

Major Need Category: Special Educational Needs

General Need Area: Problems at the Interface

Condition 7: Achievement Aspirations

Condition Summary

While survey and ethnographic information clearly suggest that Hawaiians value educational achievement, the educational aspirations of parents for their children and of students themselves often tend to be very limited when considered from the dominant cultural view-

point. This tendency is or has been reinforced by subtle as well as overt tracking of Hawaiian youth into general vocational preparation programs.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Parent training and/or special student programing to enhance motivation to achieve academically (assimilation).
- Educational programs that provide minority culture individuals with the level and type of education they prefer (culturally compatible programming).

Testimony

There have been those who have noted the rather limited educational aspirations of Hawaiian youth. Dona Kapu, for example, an educator from Molokai, offered the following testimony:

> Many of them lack motivational helps. Many fail school because of their behavioral and academic — their selves as far as academics. Many of them need counseling services, not so much in the area of behavioral but more so in the area of job opportunities. You know, many of them don't even know what Mr. Akaka stands for.
>
> So, we had this rap session and I asked them these questions: "What are you going to do after school? What do you plan to do? What do you plan to become? Do you have any idea?" Just to let you know the ideas that go through their minds, one student said, "Well, you know, our parents are on welfare. That's not too bad."
>
> I asked, "What's good about it?" And I had to go and encourage them and motivate them to want to seek out education so they don't have to go on welfare. I bring out the points on how to — I don't know, so many things are going through my mind, it's getting complicated. I better stick to what I'm going to say.
>
> One little girl said, "Mrs. Kapu, I'm going to be a babysitter when I get older." I said, "A babysitter? That's fine, that's good." But you know, they don't really think ahead, after high school. Their minds are not geared to that. I teach 20 of them and each of their levels are below the fourth grade level (Dona Kapu, Bill 916, p. 144)

Meanwhile, another educator from Kauai offered his personal account:

> . . . I took a brief look at my senior year as a student at Maui High School on the Island of Maui. During my senior year, not one Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian was an officer for the student government or any of the class councils. Neither was any Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian a member of the National Honor Society. Where were the Native Hawaiians at Maui High School in 1960?
>
> . . . Only two or three listed furthering their education as part of their plans for the future. Most had not participated fully in the educational opportunities offered in public education so far, and apparently, they did not plan to continue pursuing what seemed to them to be further irrelevant educational opportunities.
>
> But this was nearly two decades ago and during our first year of statehood. Is the situation significantly changed here on a different island 19 years later? Let's look at the Native Hawaiian students who are attending Kauai High School this year. Only one part-Hawaiian girl is a student body officer this year, and two others are serving as class council officers in grades 9 through 12. None of these students, by the way, have Hawaiian surnames. Also, just as at Maui High School in 1960, none of the members of the national honor society are either Hawaiian or part Hawaiian. . . .
>
> Concerning plans for the future, out of approximately 35 Hawaiians and part Hawaiians in this year's senior class, 5 intended to continue their education in a 4-year college, and 8 intend to go to a community college to pursue studies in business, police science, drafting, or liberal arts.
>
> Whether or not all of these students will actually enroll in these institutions and then successfully complete the courses of study is another matter. The remaining students plan to join the service or get a job, but several are still undecided about what they will do after they graduate from high school tomorrow evening, if they do graduate.
>
> In general, according to my observations of these two high schools, there seems to be a certain amount of progress

concerning the educational plans of Hawaiians and part Hawaiians, but how much of this is a direct result of the differences between the more rural Maui High School of 20 years ago and the Kauai High School of today is not completely clear.

I also do not claim that these observations are necessarily indicative of conditions throughout the State, but then, I only intended to see if my own experiences bare out Senator Inouye's observations concerning the Native Hawaiian as a "stranger in his own land" (Byron Cleeland, Bill 916, p. 195).

Social Science Analysis

In a widely cited study of self-disparagement among Native Hawaiian youth, McNassor and Hongo (1972), quoted from interviews with Hawaiian high school students who had low educational aspirations: lower than their ability levels seemed to indicate:

> As discussion of their post-high school plans got under way, the students unhesitatingly expressed the principal reasons why they plan a limited post-high school education and why they consider an education at the University of Hawaii an impossibility:
>
> 'We are not smart.'
> 'Afraid to try.'
> 'Not good students like the Japanese.'
> 'People think we are stupid.'
> 'A teacher told me not to try, it would be too hard for me.'
> 'Might fail.'
>
> (McNassor and Hongo, 1972, pp. 4-5)

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs

General Need Area: Problems at the Interface

Condition 8: Preference for Group Cooperation

Condition Summary

Western cultural characteristics of success in many areas (e.g. education, business) are diametrically opposed to Hawaiian cultural or moral values. For example, Hawaiian values stress cooperative effort for mutual gain within a group, and scorn individual ambition, personal accumulation, and competition. Scholastic achievement in most educational settings is impeded when aggressiveness and individual striving are culturally unacceptable to students.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Special programs to teach minority youth to be more competitive and individualistic (assimilation).
- Changes in school staffing patterns, programs and curricula that result in a de-emphasis of competitive, individualistic activities (culturally compatible programming).

Social Science Analysis

Many of the social psychological studies done in conjunction with anthropological research of the 1960s and 1970s looked at the importance to Hawaiians of 'affiliation' as opposed to 'achievement' motivation. The results have been succinctly summarized by two of the key scientists in these efforts:

> While it is popularly held that Hawaiians are deficient in all sorts of areas . . . essential to "successful" living, such generalizations are nearly always based on an economic frame of reference and ignore the importance attached . . . to human relationships. If one can depict Hawaii's other ethnic terms, then one must view Hawaiians as affiliation-oriented. By this we mean that most Hawaiians will choose to honor a commitment to a friend, provide aid to another person, seek out situations of good fellowship, and so forth, before they will choose personal economic gain. (Gallimore & Howard, 1968, p. 10)

The most pervasive contrast with working-class haole communities is the degree to which the people of Aina Pumehana emphasize affiliative values and de-emphasize behavioral manifestations of this value emphasis, one being that Hawaiian-Americans generally choose to honor commitments to friends, provide aid to a person in need, and seek to engage in situations of cooperative

fellowship, even when it requires material deprivation for themselves and their families. (Howard, 1974, p. 29)

What these affiliative behaviors have in common is the tendency of individuals to attend and orient to others. It is the habit of orienting to others (being interdependent, affiliating with) that we believe must be given principal consideration in the analysis of Pumehana achievement oriented behavior. Pumehanans are motivated to achieve in order to have access to and sustain contact with people in interdependent/affiliative social situations. By comparison, achievement of personal goals and success provide only secondary motivation. (Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan, 1974)

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs

General Need Area: Problems at the Interface

Condition 9: Preference for Immediate Gratification

Condition Summary

Traditional values and pressures in support of immediate resource acquisition and use, stemming from the subsistence nature of the Hawaiian economy, appear to be present among contemporary Hawaiians as a preference for immediate gratification. This general value is reflected in dimensions such as immediate use of income, sharing of income with extended family members, general workstyle preferences, and apparent reluctance to plan, save, and prepare oneself in anticipation of future needs and conditions.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Special programs that teach minority youth "survival skills" related to day-to-day life management and to planning for future (assimilation).
- Educational efforts directed at majority culture educators to make them more accepting and less critical of the value system of minority students (culturally compatible programming).

Social Science Analysis

Preference for immediate gratification or "inability to delay gratification" is a concept that has been discussed to some extent in ethnographic accounts offered by anthropologists. For example, Burrows (1947) offered the following description of the problems of Hawaiians vis-a-vis a market economy after long years of living in a subsistence culture:

> Money, of course, was supposed to make steady work worth while. But that meant very little to the Hawaiians. True, they could see — all too clearly — the advantages of ready cash. But the idea of saving it up for the distant future was almost wholly lost on them. They had always got along without putting by "for a rainy day," as the haoles call it. Food was, to them, about the most important form of material wealth; and their kinds of food, with few exception, would not keep. Land, the source of much of their food, was not exchanged for other goods in their old culture; and, as we have seen, they did not fully grasp the haole system of trading in land until it was too late. If a Hawaiian did accumulate a surplus of material goods, he was promptly besieged by relatives and friends — "calabash relatives," the haoles call those not closely related by blood, because the sharing of food is so important in the relationship. These joyfully helped the prosperous Hawaiian get rid of his surplus. He could not turn them off. According to his upbringing, the way for a man to enhance his status through material wealth was not to store it up but to give it away with lavish generosity.
>
> The result of all this was that when a Hawaiian was hired to work on the plantations, he would work, as a rule, only until he had enough money to buy what he wanted at the moment, and to give his friends a good time. No use showing up for work again until what he had was gone. The same background prevented Hawaiians from fitting into other niches in the new economy. As a consequence, Orientals were brought in to work the plantations. Inured to steady work and thrift, they got along only too well to suit the humbler haoles, with whom they came into competition (pp. 42-43).

More recently, Gallimore and Howard (no date) offered the following examples of problems associated with a prevailing preference for immediate gratification:

> As for the question of Hawaiian gratification preferences, we have ample ethnographic evidence that much of the relevant behavior could be classed as reflecting a preference for immediate gratification. For example, a great many families in Aina Pumehana indebted themselves regularly in order to have a *luau*, in celebration of birthdays, weddings, graduations, holidays, etc. And, as social workers pointed out, such expenditures were frequently at the expense of family needs which have long-term implications; e.g., health care, housing, school supplies, etc. Also cited as evidence of Hawaiian lack of self-restraint was the frequency with which families in Aina Pumehana accumulated unreasonable levels of indebtedness in response to social obligations. For example, one individual whose income derived from his employment as a sanitation worker and whose responsibilities included a wife and eight children, owed a total of $30,000. His net income per month was $18, the majority of his wages going to his debtors. A social case work report described him as, among other things, susceptible to salesmen and unable to refuse friends who requested that he co-sign their loan applications. In addition, his purchases of consumer goods, such as televisions and automobiles, were taken as evidence that he was unable to deny himself immediate pleasure for future gain (p. 8).

In another part of their paper they cited a statement from a young Hawaiian boy regarding attitudes towards education and the apparent inability of many Hawaiians to see beyond immediate circumstances to consider the consequences of their behaviors.

> 'Some of the keeds in this school no like work, only play around all day. They neva think what going happen to 'em.'
>
> The boy was expressing a view that we had frequently heard from others in Aina Pumehana, from Hawaiians as well as public agency personnel. We had been often told that Hawaiians were slaves to their appetites, and that their susceptibility to immediate pleasures was a root cause of their social and economic problems (p. 1).

In spite of the tendency for some social scientists to interpret preference for immediate gratification as a psychological deficiency ("inability to delay gratification"), research in Hawaii has discussed the phenomenon from perspective of differences in cultural values. For example, Gallimore, Weiss, & Finney (1974) reported that Hawaiian-American adolescents do show a preference for immediate consumption of a $1,500 windfall as contrasted with the more conservative plans expressed by Japanese-American students. The authors discussed their findings with respect to differences in cultural values regarding resource consumption, and they noted that the plans offered by the youngsters were distinctly different: Hawaiians tended to say that they would spend the money on their families; Japanese, meanwhile, were more inclined to eventually spent the money on themselves to meet expenses such as those associated with higher education.

Finally, it can be noted that a recent archeological report offered evidence that runs counter to prevailing descriptions of the sophisticated environmental management and conservation ethic of ancient Hawaiians. The evidence presented suggests that Hawaiians were likely responsible for the extinction of numerous species of birds as a result of their deforestation activities (cf., Olson & James, 1982). This small bit of information may be of interest to those who claim that "inability to delay gratification" is an "aberration" that was not present in ancient times, but one which developed as Hawaiians got away from their traditional lifestyle.

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs

General Need Area: Problems at the Interface

Condition 10: Male Sex Role Behavior

Condition Summary

As a result of customary ways that young Hawaiians interact with adults in

accordance with cultural values and practices, a special handicap is imposed on boys in school. "Male" social assertion skills that are valued in Hawaiian society are at odds with school procedures. To be a successful Hawaiian man means development of skills that seem to place the individual at a disadvantage in school.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Consciousness-raising education for children with respect to alternatives to traditional sex-role behavior (assimilation).
- Teacher training and other educational change strategies designed to enlighten educators about behavior patterns of minority culture males (culturally compatible programming).

Social Science Analysis

During the late 1960s a team of social scientists from anthropology and psychology conducted a series of studies in a single Hawaiian Homestead community in an effort to document the Hawaiian lifestyle in a modern context. As part of this Hawaiian Community Research Project Boggs and Gallimore (1974) interviewed 57 adolescents aged 14 - 18 in order to gain information on the adolescent population of the area. The focus of their report was on value style and school achievement. In brief they found that the youngsters divided themselves into two groups: "toughs" who were generally aggressive, uncooperative, delinquents, and "nice" people who were basically nonaggressive, law-abiding, and cooperative with others. In considering the school achievement of these two types of students they found that "toughness" among males was negatively correlated with school performance as indicated by standardized test score data. With females, however, there was no relationship between designation as "tough" and school achievement. When the additional variable of performance during the interview was considered they discovered that verbal ability was positively related to the school achievement of girls, but **negatively** related to that of boys. That is, they found that the higher-achieving males tended to be "nice" as well as less skilled and outgoing in their verbal behavior during the interview. Low-achievers, meanwhile, tended to be "tough," as well as remarkably skilled verbally.

The interpretation Boggs and Gallimore offered for their findings drew on their knowledge of the differential roles of males and females in the Hawaiian home. In short, they suggested that girls, who typically receive much closer parental supervision, engage in more frequent verbal negotiations with parents when problems develop in the home. Consequently, very verbal girls arrive at school with more relevant skills and experiences that can be of use in cross-cultural encounters. The situation appears to be much different for verbally skilled boys as the following analysis from Boggs and Gallimore (1974) suggests:

> High-participant boys reported a different relationship with parents, one in which the less powerful (typically the mother) is ignored or "talked back to." The boy is closer to the preferred parent (usually the father); he obeys a limited and self-selected number of the father's more urgent demands, and gets his friends to join in the father's more interesting tasks and recreations, e.g., car repair, fishing, etc. He tries to avoid many mundane chores by being away from home or "talking back," rather than through negotiation. Thus, high-participant boys employ more verbally aggressive or assertive tactics and more pal-like role behaviors with adults. Neither seems likely to produce a comfortable teacher-pupil relationship in the multi-cultural school, though they be relevant for learning semiskilled and skilled jobs by imitation (Boggs and Gallimore, 1968). Very probably, the high-participant boys react to teacher demands in much the same way they do at home, by ignoring or "talking back." Thus, their interview-participation skills, which may serve them well at home and in developing toward manhood, may significantly disrupt their performance of the typical student role. (p. 106)

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs

General Need Area: Problems at the Interface

Condition 11: Childrearing Patterns

Condition Summary

Extensive intermarriage with other racial groups has produced a wide variety of childrearing patterns and practices among Hawaiians. Among those family systems that build on strong Hawaiian traditions common characteristic features include: multiple parenting within an 'ohana group, early indulgence followed by a shift at two to three years of age to a primarily peer-directed socialization experience, socialization towards a group/family oriented values system, and learning experiences that emphasize modeling and mutual participation rather than verbal interaction. Educators and social service workers often identify features of Hawaiian childrearing practices that they consider changeworthy. Anthropologists, meanwhile, push strongly in two directions: some find the Hawaiian system to be laudable and therefore recommend a "hands-off" policy; others note a severe lack of fit between traditional practices and conditions in today's world. To the latter, child abuse statistics and other indicators of dysfunction suggest that some changes in Hawaiian childrearing patterns, or changes in societal support for such practices, are necessary.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Preventive family intervention/early childhood education designed to help families adjust to the pressures and demands of life in today's world (assimilation).
- Cultural preservation aimed at preserving traditional childrearing practices and values to the extent possible in today's world (culturally compatible programming).

Testimony

Newcomers to Hawaii have long been fascinated by the multicultural, multiethnic background of many of the people who live here. Certainly one factor in this racial mixing has been the readiness with which many Hawaiians, male as well as female, have intermarried with new arrivals regardless of the racial and ethnic background of these individuals. This phenomenon started with the arrival of Captain Cook (cf., Sahlins, 1981) and has continued unabated to the present. Today "part-Hawaiians" far outnumber full-blooded members of the group, and it has recently become acceptable and even fashionable to emphasize one's identity as a Hawaiian. For example, the following comments offered by Kanahele (1981) give an overview of the situation as it exists:

> We begin with the obvious: modern Hawaiians are not the same as their ancestors when Captain Cook arrived. They are genetically different. Excepting for a few thousand (or maybe less than a thousand according to the one source) pure Hawaiians, the overwhelming majority of Hawaiians are racial hybrids. They are hyphenated Hawaiians, that is, Hawaiian-Chinese, -Japanese, -Filipinos, -Norwegian, and so on. A modern Hawaiian may look like a blond Anglo-Saxon, a kinky-haired Melanesian, or a fair-skinned Japanese. As one seminar participant observed, 'I just can't tell who's Hawaiian any more.'
>
> A few years ago it was common to use the label 'Part Hawaiian' and if someone asked about your racial background, to measure out the parts, like 'I am half Hawaiian, a quarter English, one-eighth Japanese, and, I think, a little Chinese.' Today, unless pressed, many part Hawaiians are apt to say simply, 'I am Hawaiian,' downplaying their non-Hawaiian heritage, although not necessarily denying it. It is quite a change from, say, the 1930s and '40s, when some part Hawaiians preferred not to mention their Hawaiian extraction. Nowadays, what you are on the outside doesn't seem to count as much as what you are inside. (p. 3)

The point here is that discussion of problems that Hawaiians experience as they come into contact with majority culture institutions and practices implies that there is a generality of experiences in the home and community as well as behavioral and attitudinal similarities that tend to result in the same kinds of problems for all Hawaiians. While this may be true to some extent, it is also apparent that there is remarkable diversity within the group that today has, for simplicity, come to be referred to as "Hawaiians."

With respect to childrearing practices spe-

specifically, it is not hard to imagine substantial differences across families as a function of the ethnic and cultural background of the respective parents. This point is brought home well by the data on intermarriage presented in the following section, but it is also an important prefatory point since anthropological and testimonial accounts of "Hawaiian" childrearing practices of today tend to be stereotypical without acknowledging the diversity that in fact exists.

At one extreme is the perspective of Hawaiian activist Walter Ritte, who is currently a member of the Board of the State of Hawaii Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), suggests the extent to which some leading figures in the Hawaiian community are disenchanted with formal educational systems. The valley in question in this interview is a remote valley on the Island of Molokai where Ritte and some of his friends have sought to revive and preserve a traditional Hawaiian lifestyle.

> HONOLULU: Do you read a lot?
> RITTE: No. [laughs] I hate to read. I fall asleep.
> HONOLULU: Let's say you go back in a few years to Pelekunu. How old is your youngest child?
> RITTE: Three.
> HONOLULU: What are you going to do about your children's education?
> RITTE: Nothing. [laughing] What am I supposed to do?
> HONOLULU: They'll be educated in the valley?
> RITTE: Whatever happens is going to happen. I'm not preoccupied with life insurance, bank accounts. I don't have a bank account. I don't have life insurance. I don't worry about my kids' education. I don't have any of those hang-ups.
> HONOLULU: Do you think that'll bother your kids at all, as the years go on?
> RITTE: Well, if they want to live on Oahu, they better go get educated.
> HONOLULU: But maybe they will decide they want to live here.
> RITTE: Then they gotta go and get their own education. I'm not gonna provide their education or the money for their education. If they cannot get 'em, then they live where they gotta live. You gotta grow. And you gotta grow by yourself. So I'm not worried about that stuff.
> My kids went two years out of school, and now they're back in school at the top of the class. Because they're independent. They got something the other kids don't have. I don't know what it is. At the top of the class! They never had formal education for two years.
> HONOLULU: How old are they now?
> RITTE: My oldest girl is 12. The other one is 11. One of my boys is four and the other is three. They want college education, they're just gonna have to struggle and get it. Same way I did it. No help. You get a lot more. Education is not just going into that crazy classroom. [laughs] Eighty percent of the things you learn aren't worth a shit anyway. They aren't. It's getting there, that's how you learn (Lipman, 1982).

Contrasting with Ritte's perspective are the recollections of retired teacher Lorna Burger, who was providing information to an oral history project, suggest the extent to which parental support can influence educational outcomes for some Hawaiians:

> GG: Was there one particular teacher that influenced you or how did you happen to decide to go into teaching yourself?
> LB: I didn't decide. (Laughs) I really went to school as I was interested in stenographic work so I took commercial. But because I was only 17, my mother said, 'Well if you want to go to Normal School and learn to become a teacher like your brothers and sisters, why don't you go?' She gave me that privilege.
> So I thought, oh well, might as well. And that's how I went and took the Junior college two years. But then when I got out, I've been in it ever since. (Ethnic Studies Oral History Project, 1977)

Social Science Analysis

Summarizing some 15 years of anthropological observation and analysis of Hawaiian childrearing patterns, Tharp (1982), writes:

> The *'ohana*, the cooperating (largely kin-based) group which shares work and resources, still exists. **Shared-functioning** is the rule, so that tasks are accomplished by several people working together in

relatively unspecialized roles. **Shared-resources** is the rule, so that generosity and helpfulness are deep values. From an early age, children are participating members of the *'ohana* or family and are expected to work and contribute to the common good. **Sibling-caretaking** is usual; primary socialization agents include older sisters and brothers. Indeed, children are organized into quasi-independent sibling and companion groups, often including cousins and neighbor children; adults relate to these groups and loosely supervise them, but child-groups operate with far more self-reliance and responsibility than do middle-class Caucasian or Oriental children. **Peer-orientation** is the result; direct confrontation with adults is avoided and is made possible by the children's responsible discharge of their assigned duties. Children learn by working alongside adults or older children. Hawaiian parents do not typically conceptualize their role as that of "teacher"; children are presumed to learn by participating. The result of these and other features is an uncommonly solid and sustaining family system (Tharp, 1982, p 5).

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs
General Need Area: Problems at the Interface
Condition 12: Other Areas of Mismatch

Condition Summary

Two additional areas of mismatch include an apparent preference for personal/emotionally-based knowing as opposed to an empirical approach, and possible failure of fit with contemporary educational practice stemming from a cultural preference for use of double or hidden meanings.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Programs which explore and further define Hawaiian concepts as they apply to the modern context; for example, poetry and riddling as the kind of word play which Hawaiian double meaning would complement.

Testimony

The Hawaiian style is said to be based on feelings rather than dispassionate analysis. The Hawaiian belief was that the seat of knowledge was the gut (*na'au'ao*) rather than the brain (Pukui et al, 1972). This preference for emotional rather than analytical reasoning is generally considered a positive trait, a source of pride, as in this testimony:

> I'm going to tell you my *mana'o io* — the essence of what I believe. I might not have statistics, and I cannot tell you why, why I make a certain comment, but that comment comes from my *mana'o io. Mana'o* is my thoughts; *io* is my essence, my very being. (Walter Ritte, as interviewed by Lipman, 1982, p. 67)

There are a number of other cross-cultural conceptual contrasts. These ususally involve the contrast of a Hawaiian word or concept with the "western" version. One such is *kaona.* This means "double meaning" or "hidden meaning" and refers to the Hawaiian use of metaphor and allegory in legend and chant. (Pukui et al, 1972).

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs
General Need Area: Barriers in Hawaiian Culture
Condition 1: Self Attributions

Condition Summary

Historically, young Hawaiians developed a negative view of their own culture and viewed their ethnic heritage with shame. They may either casually or coincidentally suffer from poor self-image, though there are indications that self-esteem is in fact quite high, and is related to socioeconomic status instead of ethnicity. Negative ethnic stereotypes directly link with self-disparagement and inferior scholastic achievement.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Programs that encourage ethnic consciousness and pride and/or the development of a confident, positive self-image.

Testimony

> *Malihini no na keiki o ko la kou aina pono'i iho'* — the children of the land are strangers in their own land.' It is an observation often made about those who once possessed a proud civilization and all the lands and resources of the Islands. Now they are the most dispossessed and disadvantaged of Island peoples. The cumulative material and psychological destruction has also left them disillusioned, alienated — and in serious trouble (Kanahele, 1982, p. 22).

The collective losses of Hawaiians as a people seem to have left them with a range of psychological problems in addition to their more obvious economic and social problems. Prominent among these are the negative self attributions that many Hawaiians maintain. In general these debilitating self-perceptions appear to be of two types: (1) feelings of inferiority with respect to individual and collective capability in selected areas of endeavor (e.g., education, business), and (2) personal identity crises resulting from unresolved feelings about being Hawaiian (and therefore being "heathen," "second-rate," "dumb," "lazy," etc. . . . depending upon the negative stereotype involved).

Ample testimony verifying the existence of a range of personal adjustment problems of the types suggested here was located during the review process undertaken in connection with this study. Selections from this body of testimony will be presented. For example, Darrow Aiona, member of the State Board of Education, summarized the situation as follows:

> The problem is this. For a long time many Hawaiians have seen themselves as minus: Lower income, poorer housing, poorer jobs, less education, more crime, lower life expectancies, higher infant mortality, greater morbidity in most disease categories, disposession of land, identifiable by color, hair and skin and not infrequently by a pidgin dialect of English, not to mention minds stunted in many cases by disadvantage and social stress. I'm stating this harshly and emphatically because it is clear, true, documented and yet often denied.
>
> This minus status of Hawaiians is demonstrated in the way both exceptional achievements as well as failures are received; by the excessive applause a Hawaiian graduate receives at a commencement ceremony, or the great pride we feel when a Hawaiian is appointed to a prestigious governmental agency, as much as by the dismal parade of Hawaiian youths meekly and daily through the courts, convicted often of offenses for which a non-Hawaiian would not even be arrested (Darrow Aiona, NHSC Testimony, 1982).

While watching others succeed and experiencing subtle barriers to equitable success in the dominant culture definitely has a depressing effect, much is also learned by observation of what is omitted and ignored. For example, Darrow Aiona has noted the impact on Hawaiians of the prevailing school curriculum:

> And our schools, in indoctrinating all young people with this American culture, have — unintentionally, perhaps — conveyed to our Hawaiian children the feeling that maybe they are inferior in some way. And this has confused and worried our young people and understandably turned them off to school (Darrow Aiona, Bill 916, p. 58).

Feelings of Hawaiians regarding their personal identities as "part-Hawaiians" are sometimes difficult for non-Hawaiians to comprehend. A descendent from Hawaiian *alii*, John Dominis Holt, was among the first to speak directly to this issue — he in fact has claimed that his 1964 essay "On Being Hawaiian" provided the spark for the "Hawaiian Renaissance" of recent years (cf., Bowman, 1978). Recounting his period of self-doubts and recrimination Holt noted:

> Growing up I really hated Hawaii as a teenager . . . . I hated all my relatives. I felt confused by what they were trying to say. I felt terribly hurt by all our losses [of family land]. . . .
>
> One of the things about being Hawaiian was shame. We were told early on that our own culture wasn't a very good

one. I felt this built up a tremendous sense of distrust and confusion.

Everything that was good went underground, and the things that remained on the surface were fragmented. (*Honolulu Star Bulletin*, April 21, 1978)

The idea that many Hawaiians experience confusion, personal guilt, and anxiety because of their fragmented and often distorted knowledge of traditional Hawaiian beliefs, values, and practices has been mentioned by numerous observers. For example, Kanahele (1982a) has described his own personal discovery regarding the apparent altruism of ancient Hawaiians:

> . . . I did not have a good understanding of Hawaiian traditional values. I used to think that our kupuna used to live by altruism, that is, they gave things to people without expecting anything in return. If so, it would explain why Hawaiians supposedly didn't like business, selling, making a profit, all of which clearly involve getting something back in return. Well, I now understand that Hawaiians did not practice altruism; in fact, there is no such word in the Hawaiian language. The notion that Hawaiians gave things without expecting anything back is really post-Captain Cook romanticizing about the "noble savage." It is totally naive and unrealistic. The irony is that a lot of modern Hawaiians have been taken in by this view.
>
> The fact of the matter is that traditional Hawaiian society, like most Polynesian societies, was intertwined by a complex web of mutual obligations based on two general principles: giving and reciprocating. That act of giving presupposed in act of giving back something of comparable value. Raymond Firth, in his book on Maori Economics, calls this idea of reciprocity *utu*.

Kanahele has used his new-found perspective as a cornerstone in his efforts to convince potential entrepreneurs from the Hawaiian community that there is nothing "un-Hawaiian" about being a successful businessman (e.g., Office of Program Evaluation and Planning, 1982 Report No. 81-82: 30).

Addressing the socioeconomic status and self-sufficiency of Hawaiians is certainly one approach to dealing with problems in the area of self-worth and pride. Ben Young, a Hawaiian M.D. who is currently the Dean of the Medical School at the University of Hawaii, for instance, noted that, "Though astonishing strides have been made, there is still a need for greater progress in the areas of economics and social self-sufficiency, areas which can provide for a sense of self-worth and areas which can be achieved through **education** (Bill 916).

The second approach most commonly prescribed for Hawaiians who seek an identity as Hawaiians in today's world is some form of cultural studies. A sample recommendation, for instance, includes the following:

> To reinforce and assist those students who suffer from poor self-image and self-identification, the utilization of our *kupuna* (elders) as teachers would greatly enhance the chances of promoting and bolstering self-worth and self-pride in Hawaiian students (Keoni Agard, Bill 916, p. 93).

While another approach that has been tried is a special course on contemporary Hawaiian values and issues. Offered at The Kamehameha Schools, the goal of the course was to help Hawaiian high school students develop positive self- and group-concepts as ethnic Hawaiians by learning more about Hawaiians values and problems. As explained by the course's originator and teacher:

> One of the primary dilemmas for modern Hawaiians is, 'How much of a Hawaiian and how much of a haole should I be?' This conflict contributes significantly to the confusion, anxiety, frustrations, alienation, and self-disparagement which Hawaiian students bring into their classrooms. Sadly, these problems in turn lead to poor academic achievement. . . . An important first step toward resolving the conflict is the establishment of a positive psychology which means understanding one's values and looking at oneself and identity more critically. (Kanahele, 1982d, p. 1)

Comments from Holt (cf., Bowman, 1978) provide an interesting perspective with respect to this proposition:

> "What happened to me is I went away, found my haole identity. Then I came

home, immersed myself in this world and found my Hawaiian identity.

"I think the two came together and this is when I really went to work on who is a Hawaiian, what is a Hawaiian, what are we? Is there such a thing as a valid ethos that works, that is viable, that is Hawaiian? "I felt that all the names, the hulas, the places, the plants, the air, the surviving Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians, they all verified this viability. I decided I would try to write about it, so that other people could understand it, other people who cared.

The writings of Holt and others have certainly spurred a rejuvenation of interest in all things Hawaiian, and in some cases a renewed interest in Hawaiian traditions has profoundly changed individual lives. Possibly one of the more celebrated changes of this type is that of Kenneth Brown, a wealthy kamaaina businessman who is one-quarter Hawaiian. As documented in several newspaper accounts Brown has entirely refocused his life on his way to becoming a leading advocate of efforts to bring back Hawaiian values for today's Hawaiians (Smyser, 1981; Yim, 1982). In this regard the fact that Brown is 63 is of some interest because it has been noted that problems in the area of self-disparagement do cycle through families, implying that some work with older individuals is in order:

> For many older Hawaiians the sense of inadequacy does not abate with maturity but becomes more ingrained. A noted authority on adult Hawaiian social behavior observes: 'Too many Hawaiians, young and old, have a poor self-image. It's a vicious cycle because you can't expect parents who have a low opinion of their status to really do much for the self-image of their children.' (Kanahele, 1982; p. 23)

Social Indicator Data Not Applicable.

Social Science Analysis

Just as Hawaiians themselves have testified, social science analyses of the self-esteem of Hawaiians have noted that many Hawaiians feel a certain degree of shame associated with their being Hawaiian. Maretzki (1974), for instance, observed as follows:

> In spite of superficial impressions that Hawaiians are well integrated into the larger social fabric of their home islands today, most of them have not attained wholesome personal biculturalism. (As one older person of Hawaiian background put it — and it is likely that he speaks for many others in the Hawaiian ethnic population: 'Too many of us are, in a sense, ashamed of being Hawaiians. We cannot succeed in, or even cope with the contemporary commercially dominated culture of our islands.') (p. 46)

Others who have closely considered the role of self-esteem in the personal adjustment of Hawaiians in today's world include the team of mental health specialists who have worked with the Liliuokalani Children's Center for a number of years. What originally started as an in-house activity to enable staff members to better serve the unique needs of the Center's clients has ended up producing two volumes of work on the relationship between personal adjustment in today's world and individuals' level of knowledge of traditional Hawaiian practices and values. For example, the tendency of many Hawaiians to hold very negative self-concepts in connection with their Hawaiianness was noted:

> Among the Center's deeply troubled clients, self-concept as being Hawaiian tends to be negative. Nearly every misfortune or failure is equated with being Hawaiian:
>
> 'The reason all this trouble happens to me is that I'm Hawaiian. There's nothing good about Hawaiians.'
>
> 'It's this way [on welfare] with us because we're Hawaiian. It's not this way with other people.'
>
> A Chinese-Hawaiian boy in trouble with the law: 'It's the bad Hawaiian in me. Why are you trying to help me? I'm a bad Hawaiian kid.'
>
> 'I act this way because of my bad Hawaiian blood.'
>
> 'We didn't give the baby a Hawaiian name. That way, maybe all the badness of being Hawaiian won't go to him.'
>
> 'My in-laws [non-Hawaiians] think I'm just a stupid Hawaiian.'
>
> Conversely, clients tend to credit achievement to the non-Hawaiian part of their heritage:

'Yeah, I got promoted. I got the raise. Must be the haole in me.'

'Lani's doing better in school. The smartness must come from her Pake [Chinese] blood.'

Marrying 'out' is seen as a way to improved self-esteem.

A teenage girl: 'Even if we don't like the Japanese, we — my girl friends and me — we'd marry one to make us better.'

In a few client families, there is a definite favoritism given the child with a fair skin.

Some of this extremely low self-image is linked with low socioeconomic status. Clients are embarrassed and ashamed because: 'I live in public housing.' 'We're on welfare.' 'All the kids at school know I go to the free clinic.' 'Everybody's always snooping, taking surveys about us.' (Pukui et al., 1979, p. 308)

This same group also reported on a study in which they asked Hawaiians to list qualities they saw in themselves. In brief, they found evidence of common stereotypes being widely accepted by Hawaiians about themselves, and they were struck by the fact that no one mentioned being an effective worker:

> A group of Hawaiians listed stereotypes among qualities they saw in themselves as "being Hawaiian." They named: "Being warm-hearted . . . hospitable . . . making and enjoying music . . . sharing . . . *kokua* [helping each other] . . . keeping family matters private . . . loyalty to family."
>
> From long acquaintance with the group, the authors feel these qualities do apply to each individual. The stereotype was accurate in this case. But stereotype influence also showed in what was omitted. For every member of the group works hard and well at a responsible job or profession. Yet no one listed "industry" or "application" or "work" as being a Hawaiian quality. Which presents the question, when and why did Hawaii's traditional approval of *hana* (work) cease to be thought of as being a Hawaiian characteristic? (Pukui et al., 1979, p. 307)

This apparent loss of a perspective or practice that was once an integral part of the Hawaiian values system brings up the issue of distortions and lack of full understanding of traditional Hawaiian ways and the effect that these have on individuals' experiencing shame and self-recrimination:

> Often a part of the somber view of the Hawaiian self is an apparent shame or denial of cultural beliefs. It is often hard to tell whether embarrassment or merely reticence is expressed. The Hawaiian who says, 'I don't know anything about the old ways,' or 'We don't talk about that' may only be protecting traditional beliefs from scorn or skepticism; he may actually be quietly proud of his cultural heritage.
>
> It is the Hawaiian who talks of 'silly superstitions' and 'awful heathen beliefs' who is obviously trying to separate himself from an ethnic past that embarrasses him. Why this sense of shame?
>
> It stems in part from handed-down attitudes that began with initial encounters with Westerners, both missionaries and laymen.
>
> It stems also from only a surface knowledge of old beliefs, so that rituals, but not the reasons for them, are known. And the rituals of any time and any culture may seem foolish if their purpose is not understood.
>
> It stems also from fragmented and distorted knowledge of the culture, so that the most wise and beneficial beliefs and institutions are thought to have been destructive and shocking (Pukui et al., 1979, p. 311).

Maretzki's (1974) comments about this same issue noted the gulf that can develop between those who reject Hawaiian practices and those who choose to preserve and maintain them:

> . . . many Hawaiians have not been able to preserve an unmitigated positive view about their native culture. In various ways, they gradually accepted to some extent standards provided by outsiders, but in so doing the people of Hawaiian background were also affected by a good deal of psychological distancing from those less accepting. Again, this is a characteristic of some, not all, and it has been brought to the awareness of the Hawaiian community only in the most recent years (p. 47).

The relationship between knowledge of Hawaiian practices and traditions, knowledge of the dominant culture, and the self-esteem of Hawaiians was one of the primary concerns of the Hawaiian Community Research Project of the late 1960s. In reporting on some of the findings of this study Howard (1971) described distinct differences between men and women in terms of the variables that correlated with self-esteem among Hawaiians who lived in a homestead community. In brief, the self-esteem of Hawaiian men seemed to be inextricably tied up with their success as a provider for their families: the more skilled their occupation and the higher the income earned, the higher the self-esteem (as measured by paper and pencil instruments) tended to be. It was also found that an internal locus of control and a concern for the approval of his peers were associated with high self-esteem. Ethic/cultural variables, meanwhile, were by-and-large unrelated to self-esteem.

With the women in the study, self-esteem turned out to be very much related to their cultural knowledge. Interestingly enough, however, it didn't matter which culture women were particularly adept in; i.e., both those who were knowledgeable of Hawaiian culture as well as those who had a good working knowledge of the dominant culture tended to have high self-esteem. On the other hand, women with competence in neither culture were those who tended towards self-denigration. Other correlates of high self-esteem included level of education, job status, and tendency to deal with problem situations in a confronting manner — all of these dimensions being associated with competence in the dominant culture. Finally, it was also found that greater Hawaiianness in terms of blood quantum tended to be associated both with low self-esteem and **low** knowledge of Hawaiian culture:

> At first glance, however, a minor paradox appears. In general, the more Hawaiian women are by percent of genealogical ancestry (as recorded in the Hawaiian Homes Commission files), by spouse's description and by self-identification, the lower their self-esteem is likely to be. Yet on our Hawaiian Conceptual Test, those women with low self-esteem were far more likely to score **low**. This suggests that many of the individuals who are identified ethnically as Hawaiians are in fact disenfranchised from their Hawaiian heritage, and that it is this dissociation that contributes to low self-esteem rather than being of Hawaiian ancestry **per se** (Howard, 1971, pp. 8-9).

Finally, some of the research with school-age youth seems to suggest that self-esteem in general is not in fact particularly low among Hawaiians. For example, The Kamehameha Schools Extension Education Division Middle Grades Project found that:

> . . . it does **not** seem to be the case that Hawaiian students in any of the communities suffer broadly or extensively from a global lack of self-esteem. In fact, they feel very good about themselves **in certain areas**. Some feel they are very good surfers, some good artists. . . . Paper-and-pencil self-esteem tests reveal that the project students feel **more** positively than negatively about themselves across the board, even though the group averages do go up and down. The ups and downs themselves have several implications. Patterns of variability within the tests and observed behavioral variability in the projects support the notion that the middle grades of school, especially the 6th and 7th, are a time of real emotional variability among the students of all backgrounds (Hammond, 1976).

In more widely-known work, meanwhile, McNassor and Hongo (1972) reported finding selective self-disparagement among academically capable high school seniors:

> Hawaiians are very proud people who have a wide range of talent and ingenuity, and they so regard themselves. They do not lack self esteem. They are well aware that they are strong, courageous, and humane people with an enviable zest for life. But in the arena of academic performance and competition in school and college, the story is different. Here is where self-disparagement penetrates deeply. . . .
>
> In terms of intellectual ability in the performance of schools' academic tasks, they (Hawaiian students) think they are inferior, incapable of success in liberal studies beyond high school. . . . (They) express genuine fear that to continue on

to college could end in only one way, in frustration and failure. . . .

Might fail. This fear was expressed over and over by the youth as the principal reason for not applying to a four-year campus of the university. From a group of quick-witted, alert 17-year-olds who are performing satisfactorily in academic classes in their senior year of high school, this is appalling.

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs

General Need Area: Barriers in Hawaiian Culture

Condition 2: Internal Dissension

Condition Summary

For example, dissension has been a concern within the Hawaiian community. The culture tends to discourage its members from standing out or excelling much beyond the norm for the group. Peer group and other sub-cultural pressures are brought to bear on the erring individual until either he conforms or is eliminated from the group altogether. Additionally, there is discord between various Hawaiian service agencies, social organizations and political factions, and "Native" Hawaiians (of 50% or more aboriginal blood) are set apart from "Part" Hawaiians (of less than half blood quantum). Finally, there is, and has long been, a lack of consensus over the notion of biculturalism — whether a blend of two or more cultures should be embraced, ethnic identity exclusively retained, or cultural background eradicated completely in the interest of assimilation into the larger society.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Programs designed to produce minority group leaders who are capable of uniting disparate factions and of developing a plan as well as a system for cultural preservation and individual and/or group advancement.

Testimony

The Hawaiian community has long been known for the diversity of viewpoints held by its members and for the fact that it is generally difficult to obtain sufficient group concensus to fuel unified action. Recently, interactions with the Federal government may have brought about some changes in this area, as the following excerpt from the testimony for Senate Bill 916 suggests:

> Senator INOUYE: Thank you very much. How old is Alu Like?
>
> Mrs. RUBIN: Four years old including the first year of needs assessment.
>
> Senator INOUYE: As you recall, before the birth of Alu Like, I think there were many who predicted that Alu Like would fail because it is a Hawaiian organization. Has it failed?
>
> Mrs. RUBIN: No; it hasn't. It had its problems and still is evolving in order to meet the needs of the community. But there are high expectations to deal with the problems. We can only deal with some of the surface problems.
>
> Senator INOUYE: I am pleased to tell you that the U.S. Government has recognized your worth, and as you know, it has once again renewed the contract with you.
>
> Mrs. RUBIN: Thank you (Winona Rubin, Bill 916, p. 213).

However, at the same time the tradition of diversity of opinion has been a long, deeply-ingrained one, as the following comments clearly indicate:

> Ultimately, if you compare the number of Hawaiian groups to the number of pure and part Hawaiians (about 150,000), the Hawaiians should be the most organized race in its islands.
>
> But the irony is that for most of the past century the opposite has been true.
>
> Instead of togetherness, one more often than not finds fragmentation usually because of conflicting personalities and lifestyle philosophies.
>
> Invariably you run into what Hawaiians popularly call *'huki-huki'* or *'pili-huki-huki,'* terms that denote, as Mary Pukui and Samuel Elberts Hawaiian dictionary defines it: 'a relationship with constant quarrels as in a family.' (Lueras, 1975, p. A-1)

"If there's ever a Hawaiian Hall of Fame somewhere, these two pieces of paper should be in it — as a historic document!"

The papers, dated Oct. 19, 1973, and titled "The Hawaiian Coalition Statement Concerning Proposed Policy Changes in the DSSH (Department of Social Services and Housing)," don't appear all that momentous, but Cachola excitedly calls them "a major turning point in modern Hawaiian politics."

"These papers," he said, waving them again for emphasis, "are the first evidence of true Hawaiian coalition that I've ever seen — they mark the first time so many different Hawaiian organizations have publicly concurred on one issue." (Lueras, 1975, p. A-1)

This is a tradition that also extends into education, at least as Peggy Hao Ross sees it:

> There are so many (educational) programs but we're fragmented. And this is not Hawaiian style. Hawaiian people like doing things together. They like talking together. They like feeling each other and touching each other. They like hugging each other and loving one another. They like to express themselves. These are the kinds of problems we are confronted with in our community because of the fragmentation (Bill 916, p. 150).

Also related to education is the issue of overall goals: To what extent do Hawaiian youth need to learn traditional Hawaiian values, concepts, and practices? Might they not be better off simply joining the mainstream and seeking their own place in the sun? As might be expected Hawaiians have a wide range of opinions on these questions. For example, Kanahele (1981) described his observation of the initial efforts of Project Waiaha, a group of Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians convened to answer the question "Who and What is a Hawaiian?":

> The discussion of values should have delved into the larger hopes and aspirations, what might be called technically "terminal" or ultimate values, of modern Hawaiians, but the subject was only touched upon. Or maybe it was implicit in everything that was said about Hawaiians needing to respect their *kupuna*, rediscover their values, accentuate their achievements, and fulfill their greater destiny. Hawaiians want comfortable, affordable homes, good educations with opportunities to learn their language and culture, secure, well-paying jobs, political influence commensurate with their numbers, better health, protection of their cultural assets, restoration of certain lands and traditional rights, and so on. Perhaps, these ideas have been considered and talked about so much that they are self-evident. Maybe Walter Ritte is right. 'We have talked enough. We know what we want. What we don't know is how we are going to get there. How do we change things?' Nonetheless, there seems still a lot more talking to do, a lot more coming together of Hawaiians, a lot more consensus-building before we can feel absolutely confident about what modern Hawaiians want to aspire to as a people. (p. 6)

While Kanahele and others remain hopeful that Hawaiians can eventually reach a workable consensus that will guide social planning and education, the fact remains that there have been numerous issues that have deeply divided the Hawaiian community. Concerns about the bombing of Kahoolawe, for instance, was one such case as Viotti (1978) described under the headline "Hawaiians Battle Hawaiians: Kahoolawe Dispute Heats Up:"

> Hawaiians were pitted against Hawaiians in public for the first time in the philosophical battle over the future of Kahoolawe last night.
>
> State Rep. Jann Yuen called a hearing at the State Capitol to gain public opinion on a legislative report and recommendations for Kahoolawe, the Island that Hawaiian activists are seeking to have returned to public use after more than 35 years of military control. The session lasted more than three hours.
>
> Among about 80 persons attending were some familiar Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana members — Walter Ritte, Peggy Ha'o Ross, and Adelaide "Frenchy" DeSoto — but they were opposed by other Hawaiians espousing the military point of view.
>
> "This thing is tearing us, pitting us

Hawaiian against Hawaiian," Anne Kauaihilo testified (Viotti, 1978, p. A-8).

The Kahoolawe debate was not an isolated instance of internal disagreement, and in fact it might be said that it is simply one of the more recent of a long line of controversies that can be traced back at least as far as the arrival of Captain Cook. A recent treatise by Sahlins (1981) gives details of some of the social disorganization that existed at the time of the arrival of Captain Cook in the Islands. One of his major points was that culture loss in Hawaii was not so much a matter of outsiders imposing their preferences on an indigenous people, but rather an instance of Hawaiian *alii* embracing what they perceived as a more desireable way of life. It is interesting that the gulf that apparently developed between Hawaiian royalty, the *alii*, and the common man, the *maka'ainana*, persisted for quite some time, and to a certain extent continues to exist today. In this vein the comments of Hawaiian activist Emmett Aluli when asked about the contribution of his work to divisiveness among Hawaiians and about the potential benefits of development in the Islands noted:

> We are criticized for knocking the 'system,' and more worse, our own Hawaiians in the 'system.' They preach unity . . . but what they want from us is to shut us up and to have us accept what they have already decided is right for us. . .
>
> They've been able to create a new class of Hawaiians — educators, bureaucrats, physicians and lawyers, but the majority of Hawaiians hurt, and will continue to hurt. (Spence, 1981)

As these comments imply, not all Hawaiians are in trouble. In fact, some Hawaiians, certainly some of whom have little or no interest in Hawaiian issues or problems, are among the wealthiest, most powerful individuals in the state. Indeed, those who claim an *alii* background as often as not come from very privileged backgrounds, and in looking back on their own experiences and those of their ancestors are proud of the adjustments that *alii* were able to make in fitting into the new culture that enveloped the Islands:

> The Hawaiians were not a middle-class society when Western man came. They were an aristocracy and placed value on things not in terms of possessions, but in terms of genealogy. And because of that, of all the primitive people ever confronted by the white man, only the Hawaiians were ever accepted as equals (Comment of Samuel Amalu, *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, January 4, 1976).

Finally, in closing, an excerpt from Darrow Aiona's Native Hawaiian Study Commission testimony describes what he perceives to be a uniquely Hawaiian problem with respect to the subtle social pressures that Hawaiians exert on one another in combination with those coming from outside:

> Why must Hawaiians be treated differently? Hawaiians go through certain anxieties that non-Hawaiians simply never have to deal with. No non-Hawaiian is threatened by his feelings of exclusion from the Hawaiian community. No non-Hawaiian is likely to feel that he is a reject from the Hawaiian community. No non-Hawaiian has Hawaiians telling him to be not only a more culturally distinct, but also an implicitly better, American. No Hawaiian politician patronizes non-Hawaiian delinquents. No non-Hawaiian enters a profession carrying the honor of his race. No non-Hawaiian has other non-Hawaiians telling him he should learn a language of which he has little or no knowledge or which he may have no real desire to acquire. We are all part of this conspiracy which divides the Hawaiian community, divides us from others, from one another, and creates division within ourselves. I listen calmly while some speak of the bonds that unite Hawaiians. I hear the defeated and depressed voices of those Hawaiians I have met after apprehension by the law, of those alienated by their schooling, of those who have been defined as dropouts, social garbage, as uneducable, and worthless. No one can turn a minus into a plus except by considering the whole person, accepting his or her strivings, hopes, fears, and perceptions of the world. It may be that history will judge not that we did too little too late, but we did nothing too soon (Darrow Aiona, NHSC Testimony, 1982).

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs

General Need Area: Barriers in Hawaiian Culture

Condition 3: Counterproductive Behavior

Condition Summary

Conflicting values between home and school cultures may produce counterproductive behavior. For example, some parents assign greater importance to family over school responsibilities: Education is often identified as a priority, yet attendance may be actively discouraged by delegation of sibling care duties or household maintenance chores. In addition, the methods Hawaiians have often used to adapt to competition include withdrawal, passive drifting, avoidance, and denial.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Values clarification and other special programming designed to help minority group individuals deal with discrepancies between personal life goals and cultural day-to-day behavior.

Testimony

The term "counterproductive" refers to behavior which seems to work against itself, or be self-defeating. The clearest example which has been cited in testimony is the seeming contradiction between high educational aspirations expressed by Hawaiian families and the actual behaviors of the family which do not seem to back up the aspiration:

> Do Hawaiian parents want their children to be educated? On this point there should be no confusion: The overwhelming majority place education high on their list of aspirations. The problem for them is simple — since many members of the community have had minimal education, they do not know how to implement their aspiration. In some cases there are conflicting values between the home culture and the school culture, as when parents assign greater importance to family over school responsibilities. Still it is clear that the parents turn to the school with the hope and expectation that their children will be educated. (Aiona, 1982, pp. 3-4)

Another perspective on the same issue emphasizes that Hawaiian families may be reacting to past failure by not actively promoting positive educational outcomes for their children:

> The problem is not that Hawaiian parents do not value education; almost unanimously they feel it is "most important" for their children to graduate from high school and "important" for them to go to college as well (Alu Like, Inc., 1976). Hawaiian parents do, however, have mixed feelings about the effectiveness and responsiveness of the public schools (Alu Like, Inc., 1976). This is not surprising, since their children do not often have successful school careers. (Au & Jordan, 1981, p. 140)

Another type of counterproductive behavior which has been said to exist among Hawaiians is withdrawal:

> The most conspicuous form of withdrawal from haole prestige has not been adoption of any haole device, but reversion to some part of an ancestral culture other than haole. This appears in many forms. One of them has been stereotyped into what may be called the stage-Hawaiian. He lives, or is supposed to live, a happy-go-lucky life; basking on the beach, renouncing the pursuit of worldly goods and all such care-laden haole values. (Burrows, 1947, p. 141)
>
> In another variant, something of the stage Hawaiian front may mask a deeper withdrawal. Having had their fill of haole condescension, a good many Hawaiians practice a marked reserve toward haoles. They give their confidence only to those who have demonstrated enough sincere friendliness, enough respect for them as human individuals, to deserve it. (Burrows, 1947, p. 144)

Social Science Analysis

Social scientists have studied the phenomenon of conflict avoidance among Hawaiians, noting the existence of avoidance as a coping mechanism. The most thorough study to date has been Alan Howard's work, whose title succinctly states the manner in which Hawaiians cope with stress through avoidance: *"Ain't no big thing!"* (1974):

One of the most noticeable behavioral forms we encountered in Aina Pumehana was the tendency of individuals to avoid situations that had a potential for conflict, shame, or any other form of social disruption. (p. 101)

At group meetings of almost any kind the tendency to avoid unpleasant confrontations dominated proceedings in one form or another. Potentially divisive issues were almost never openly discussed, even though their resolution might be vital to group interests. (pp. 101-102)

Another expression of this tendency is a willingness to accept arbitrary decisions rather than to "make waves." We frequently observed in work groups, for example, that people would follow instructions they knew to be incorrect or inefficient because they did not want to confront the leader of the group with an alternative course of action. (pp. 102-103)

The great reluctance of persons to attend clinics, seek legal assistance, and engage in other encounters with establishment figures is also a manifestation of the avoidance tendency. (p. 103)

Whereas confrontation avoidance as a strategy is well suited to the aims of affiliation and ingroup social harmony, it is ill-suited for competitive success within an acquisitive society. Confrontations are inevitable for persons who seek to raise their status relative to others; they are also inherent in the structure of contemporary urban commercial, political, and legal institutions. (p. 105)

Finally, scientists who have studied the implications of cultural patterns for mental health work point out that some of the experiences these patterns lead Hawaiian people through may result in expressions of hostility, frustration, and anger:

> For example, a young Caucasian (haole) therapist, male, highly verbal, articulate even though kind in haole terms, but inquisitive, may trigger off special feelings of frustration or anger in a young Hawaiian who has been frustrated for a long time with his own situation, and to whom such a therapist may represent a larger category of people whom he may blame for some of his frustrations. (Maretzki, 1974, p. 54)

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs

General Need Area: Barriers in the Dominant Culture

Condition 1: Stereotyping and Social Role As Beneficiary

Condition Summary

Over the years the words used to describe, thus stereotype, Hawaiians have included: "lazy," "dumb," "shiftless," "dirty," "irresponsible," and "untrustworthy." However, positive terms have also been used, such as: "generous," "tolerant," "sensitive to feelings," "good singers and entertainers," and "loving." Positive or negative, stereotypic terms come to have a self-fulfilling effect. Teachers have been held to be a major force in promoting these stereotypes, as have certain of the agencies and institutions which exist for the "betterment" of Hawaiians. By keeping Hawaiians in a "beneficiary" or "needy" role (paternalism), they unwittingly reinforce the very kinds of behavior they wish to eliminate.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Values clarification programs for high school students.
- Anti-stereotyping counseling programs, starting in elementary school.
- Special media programs (especially public television) to countercondition public stereotypes.

Testimony

As a people who are generally distinctly different from members of the dominant culture in terms of culture, background, and values, Hawaiians as a group and as individuals have felt the negative as well as positive effects of stereotyping on their behavior and development. With respect to education, the pervasive negative stereotype of the "lazy Hawaiian" has apparently made it particularly difficult for many Hawaiians to attain the levels of achievement that might have come more easily had they not faced such preconceptions.

Of course, overcoming negative stereotypes is not the only problem for Hawaiian youth, for even stereotypes that are generally very positive can create bothersome demands and expectations on the part of significant others. The following brief comments on stereotypes of Hawaiians by two Hawaiian leaders give a feeling for the roles and characteristics typically assigned or attributed to Hawaiians.

> The lazy Hawaiian stereotype is partly a throwback to early days of the sugar industry when haole planters failed to get Hawaiians to do the backbreaking, routine labor required. They were tabbed as lazy when, in fact, they simply did not care for the highly routine labor, nor for existing conditions and economic incentives. Objective historians and serious students all attest to the capacity of Hawaiians for hard work, especially when it involves a worthwhile goal and work with others in a group.
>
> There is a positive side to the stereotype, which also describes Hawaiians as warm, generous, open, and carefree. There is an element of truth in this, although in the highly competitive, individualistic American society such virtues are difficult to practice. But the stereotype is also distorted by the purveyors of tourism who glamorize Hawaiians as exotic products of the tropics who love to surf, dance, play music, fish, and swim. To be sure, many Hawaiians do, but there are probably as many others who prefer other pastimes.
>
> Stereotypes are, like statistical averages, only abstractions, but to the extent that they influence thought and action they are potent realities (Kanahele, 1982; p. 23).
>
> So much for the past: the misery, the confusion, the breakdown, as well as the glory and romance, which many people say that we of the Hawaiian community should forget. They say we dwell too much on the sentimental and romantic aspects of our past. They say that we have too much pride, and not enough get-up-and-go; that we overevaluate the glamour of our aristocratic heritage. They say, we dwell too much on our having been badly wronged as a people (as well as hoodwinked into the surrender of our hereditary acres) and that we now wait for handouts in a sullen attitude of vindication. They say, we want to be coddled and fondled like precious antiques; that we want only to be left alone, after someone has managed our lives and affairs for us. They say, we are lazy and irresponsible; that we do not pay our bills; that we regard organized society with the reality testing ability of children.
>
> On the other hand, some people say, we are gracious and kind — scintillating repositories of the aloha spirit down to the last man, woman, and child. They say, also, that we have great dignity; that we have an enviable philosophy of life; that we have all of those lovely, non-aggressive tendencies that make dollar-chasing Americans unloved throughout the world. They say, we Hawaiians are generous and tolerant; that we do not hate, nor attempt to destroy people for their infractions upon the accepted moral code (Holt, 1964; p. 19).

Many of these general themes were repeated throughout the testimonial statements offered by a range of individuals. Indeed, the very strong experience of many Hawaiians as victims of negative stereotyping on the part of dominant culture members is forcefully illustrated by two more, of many, samples of statements from Hawaiians of various ages and levels of socioeconomic achievement.

> With the introduction of the sugar industry in Hawaii, its' owners counted, of course, on the Native Hawaiians to work in the fields as laborers. The Hawaiians refused. It was not their lifestyle. They were content with their plot of land on which they grew food and raised livestock for their table. They fished for seafood and seaweed, picked sea shells, sea urchins and other delicacies to grace their table. They were satisfied.
>
> However, this refusal of the Native Hawaiian to work as laborers angered the plantation owners who did not understand how anyone could be satisfied with his or her lifestyle, which, in turn, was not similar to that of the *malihini* — newcomer — in his own homeland, the United States. As a result, the Native Hawaiians were proclaimed to be lazy.

This labeling of the Native Hawaiian without justification has continued throughout the years, even to this very day. This form of retaliation was cruel and deliberate. It is a stigma. The children who grew under these misconceived ideas soon began to, perhaps, believe and, even worse, accept this stigma as an inherent characteristic. It is not and never has been (Margaret Apo, Bill 916, p. 43).

Aluli is asked how it was he became a doctor. 'There was always this pressure on me from my family. You gotta be a doctor. My grandfather, Noa Webster Aluli, was hand-picked to go to Yale and later Michigan Law School.'

'For me, humorously I was going after my medical degree so that when I want to talk to people, they won't say, 'There goes another dumb kanaka.' That criticism — that Hawaiians are dumb — was always there. Still is. I saw the need to become educated enough so that I could fight, that we could fight on the same levels.' (Spence, 1981)

Perhaps as equally devastating for Hawaiians is to be treated stereotypically as the "exotic native" — the tourist version of what a Polynesian is and should be.

I would like to mention that it is more than just material things that the Hawaiian people ask. They ask that they not just be loved as entertainers, tolerated as children, and ignored as people. They ask that they be considered people in every sense of the word. I am thinking in closing of an ancient philosopher who, in looking at a painting of a landscape, said first you see the hills in the painting and then you see the painting in the hills. It is likewise with you who have arrived on our shores, first you see the islands as they are on the surface and its waters and then you see the people who live in these shores and in these hills, and then before you go away, you should hear the song and poetry of their lives. When you do, you will know the Native Hawaiian people (Arthur Chun, Bill 857, p. 93).

Another out-of-the-ordinary role that many Hawaiians must deal with in terms of their own self-image and social pressures associated with negative stereotyping is that of "beneficiary." Chun referenced this role and the pressures associated with it by use of the phrase "tolerated as children." Holt, meanwhile, painted a much more graphic image of the "managed," "on-the-dole" Hawaiian.

A contrasting and largely descriptive reaction with respect to this issue was expressed by Myron Thompson, Trustee of The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate in a 1972 interview.

THOMPSON: As a preface to our talk, I'd like to point out that there are four organizations today whose sole dedication is the needs of the Hawaiian people — the Liliuokalani Trust, the Lunalilo Homes, the Hawaiian Homes Lands and the Bishop Estate.

I believe these needs are as clear and evident today as they were when these organizations were founded.

Not until their purposes have been achieved and the needs no longer exist would I want to see them diverted from these original purposes . . . .

QUESTION: How do you feel about the talk that the Kam Schools or Hawaiian Homes Commission might be held racially discriminatory by the courts?

ANSWER: They are talking needlessly. These institutions are racially discriminatory by design — as are the Indian reservation, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the multitudinous programs to help the blacks, Chicanos, and other minority groups. So long as these groups, including the Hawaiians, remain in pieces at the bottom of the pile, they can never share in the constitutionally guaranteed promise of equality. The Constitution should help, not hinder, this goal.

I would hate to see these estates broken up without the basic mission being accomplished. I would like the estate held intact until that basic mission is finished. That's my thought. (*Honolulu Star Bulletin*, August 24, 1972)

Social Science Analysis

Stereotyping per se has not been a major topic of interest to social scientists in Hawaii, but several studies have been completed and reported in the literature. Vinacke (1949), for

example, involved 817 college-age students from seven different ethnic groups in a study of stereotyping in Hawaii. His summary remarks regarding stereotypes of Hawaiians were as follows:

> The sharpest stereotype of all is that for the Hawaiian, for there is general agreement on a long list of terms, nearly all of them favorable. The good characteristics are musical, easy-going, happy-go-lucky, friendly, generous, good-natured, strong (athletic), hospitable, jovial, sociable, and happy. The bad traits assigned them are lazy, superstitious, lacking in ambition, drink too much, slovenly, and noisy. Generally speaking, the Caucasian-Hawaiian group characterizes Hawaiians more favorably than do the Chinese-Hawaiians. The latter tend to agree with the other groups on more terms than do the former, although they, too, do not assign as many unfavorable traits to Hawaiians. (p. 276)

In general, he made the point that stereotypes tend to have at least a kernel of truth to them; that stereotyping is most often a two-way street (e.g., dominant culture members have stereotypes of minority group members, but likewise minority group members also stereotype members of the dominant culture just as strongly); and that self-stereotypes on the part of members of individual ethnic groups tend to agree with those held by non-members.

More recently Finney (1961) conducted a study involving 73 students who participated in extensive interviews (60 to 90 minutes in length) regarding their attitudes toward their own and other ethnic groups in Hawaii. His summary with respect to the attitudes of others towards Hawaiians was as follows:

> There was a high agreement in what people of various groups (including Hawaiians themselves) thought of Hawaiians. A large number of favorable opinions were expressed. Hawaiians as a group were described as warm, friendly, and pleasant to know; as being frank in expressing their true feelings; as being fun-loving and not serious; and as being happy. On the unfavorable side they were described as being dependent; as working no harder than they have to; as not being ambitious; as not being conscientious in carrying out responsibilities or fulfilling duties and obligations; and as being lax in disciplining their children, with sporadic severity.

Finally, a thoughtful analysis of the effects of stereotyping with respect to Hawaiians and education was offered by Maretski (1974) in an overview of the Hawaiian experience in today's world. As this excerpt shows he is aware of the range of stereotypes, both positive as well as negative, that Hawaiians must face as well as of the effects on Hawaiians in terms of their sensitivity to stereotyping and their tendency to return stereotypes in kind.

> Caucasians, and to some extent other non-Hawaiians, glamorize certain aspects of Hawaiian culture and people, while disparaging others. Common positive stereotypes are fun-loving, warm, happy-go-lucky; negative stereotypes are lazy, helpless, can't delay rewards, superstitious. Western people and others holding values more compatible with those of Westerners seem to have problems reconciling for themselves these dichotomous generalizations. To what extent, one wonders, does the stereotyping of Hawaiians by Caucasians reflect conflicting desires of those who apply the stereotypes? There is among newcomers a romanticization of Hawaiians as products of a tropical environment, of sun, sea, flowers, fruits, beautiful valleys and mountains, of people who lead a carefree existence, who love music, dance, swimming, fishing. Yet, one encounters stereotypes which have negative connotations even among those who romanticize. The notions that Hawaiians are inconsistent in their work performance and would rather be on the beach and sip beer than working, are slower in learning than others, and are unable to delay gratification, are opinions which have had a most damaging effect on Hawaiians since they were never tested against reality until quite recently. This is perhaps most noticeable in education. Measured by standards developed in a different cultural setting, applied by teachers trained and oriented towards this other type of culture, Hawaiian students have had to learn in spite of obstacles created by the dominant school system. The con-

text and philosophy of learning in schools seem quite maladaptive to Hawaiian experiences and needs. With a push from parents which implied "go to school and learn so that you will amount to something," and "listen to the teachers so that you will learn to behave," many Hawaiian children may have had to face school and learning as a situation of conflict where values expressed at home, and values governing classrooms, teacher's expectations, and criteria for standards of performance, clash. If many persons of Hawaiian background respond sensitively to negative stereotypes, this is undoubtedly because they have experienced their effect on themselves. When Hawaiians reciprocate with stereotypes such as "dumb haole," they not only return negative evaluations in kind, they also say: a dumb haole is a person who lacks feelings, sensitivities, and capacity for warm relationships, all values which mean a great deal to Hawaiians. This conflict of values and attitudes expressed through stereotypes on both sides illustrates real cultural divisions. (pp. 50-51)

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs
General Need Area: Barriers in Dominant Culture
Condition 2: Culture-Bound School Curriculum/Institutional Racism

Condition Summary

The Public Education system in Hawaii represents and propounds a cultural definition different from Hawaiian culture. It is infused with values and activities originating in America, or in the "Western" tradition. It is currently administered and taught by a staff disproportionately Japanese. The pattern has been called "institutional racism." The nature of the institution of school lends itself to a vicious cycle in which the groups who succeed best become those who run the system, which further decreases the chances for other groups' success. The bias is felt throughout the system, from the selection of books and materials to the social organization of the classroom.

Potential Educational Interventions

- High school courses in institutional racism and social action.
- Educational planning courses for teachers and administrators in the Department of Education which emphasize multiculturalism, creativity, and flexibility.

Testimony

Many individuals see the basic problem for Hawaiians in the area of education as being the fundamental mismatch between Hawaiian cultural traditions and the Western educational system as it has evolved in the United States and throughout the world. Comments to this effect included the following:

> But the major problem, virtually everyone agrees, is that the school system, as run by Japanese and Caucasians, is out of touch with the state's large Hawaiian youth population. It is still catering to the traditional, Western, competition-oriented educational philosophy, and it has long neglected the cultural and learning differences that set native Hawaiians apart. At even the most basic level, says a Waianae teacher, "for Hawaiian students, English is a second language. They speak Pidgin (a native dialect spoken throughout the Pacific) everywhere but in school."
>
> But despite all the gloomy statistics, there are signs of progress and hope. In nearly every predominantly Hawaiian community, some "Hawaiian movement" group has organized to teach young people the traditional values and skills of taro farming, fishing and the new aqua-culture. Few are state funded; most are run by volunteers (Stewart, *Hawaii Tribune-Herald*, May 1, 1980).

It is my firm conviction, based on the experience of the life I have lived here, that education is the single most important way to improve the life of the Native Hawaiian. Education for the Native Hawaiian must be designed to accord with the traditional values and culture of the Native Hawaiian people. This is

necessary for two major reasons.

In the first place, an educational process which does not take into account Native Hawaiian values and culture has not and will not be accepted by many Hawaiians. Their past rejection of an educational system foreign to the way of life they treasure and a future marked by continuing alienation from such a system will keep them unequipped to function effectively in the world in which they are forced to exist. They will continue to be denied the chance to earn the rewards available within the present society.

Second, and perhaps more importantly, contemporary education is structured to inculcate the values and culture of Western civilization at the cost of sacrificing the values and culture of the Native Hawaiian. The end result can only be the eventual loss of Native Hawaiian values and culture. If this should happen, not only will Hawaii suffer an immeasurable loss, but the world at large will be deprived of a major humanizing force (James Aki, Bill 916, p. 37).

The way we learn, the way we achieve self worth in the context of group pride and self-dignity, is undervalued and/or ignored. Although these statements may seem simple, we recognize a profound confrontation that confuses the common goals and aspirations all children should enjoy (Gard Kealoha, Bill 916, p. 111).

A vast majority (77%) of the Hawaiian children attend public schools. About one-third of those sampled in the Needs Assessment Survey are not satisfied with the public schools. The percentage is even higher for those living in rural areas. One of the major complaints is that the public schools are not sensitive to the needs of the child with a culturally Hawaiian lifestyle (Myron Thompson, Bill 857, p. 169).

'If we assume that the child's attendance is indicative of group interest in schooling, then we must conclude that the Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian families in Hana are not in sympathy with the aims and functions of the public school, and that the values that govern the average Hawaiian varies significantly from the values held by the dominant Western group (Yamamura, 1949).'

This is the kernel of the situation. That the members of the contemporary Hawaiian culture value a different set of ideas, attitudes and habits from that of the dominant culture is the basic reason for their inability to perform well in the public school system (Date et al., 1969, p. 4).

Social Science Analysis

The concept of "institutional racism" has been used recently by social scientists to describe a more subtle form of discrimination than the individual and conscious form which is generally inferred from the use of the word "racism" by itself. In other words, it implies that a whole institution can **behave** in a racist manner even if no one individual or consciousness has dictated that it should do so. It is simply reacting to higher-order forces which collectively have this insidious effect.

> Institutional racism is so entrenched in Hawaii's public school system that Filipinos and Hawaiians will not experience equality with Hawaii's other races in the foreseeable future.
>
> This was the main thrust of a speech prepared for delivery at the annual membership meeting of the Hawaii Federation of Teachers Thursday by Michael Haas, a University of Hawaii professor of political science.
>
> Without distinguishing between intent and effect, Haas charged that "segregation . . . is rampant through the (Hawaii) school system." In essence, he was defining "segregation" as any effect that is disproportionate of ethnic representations in the school system as a whole. (Kaser, November 22, 1976, p. A-3)

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs

General Need Area: Barriers in the Dominant Culture

Condition 3: Competition from Other Cultural/Ethnic Groups

Condition Summary

Hawaiians face an unusually high degree of competition from other groups in many social indicator areas, including

education. For example, the Japanese and Caucasian groups in the public schools are not at parity with national norms, they are **above** them. New groups to Hawaii, the Chinese and Japanese, and now the Filipino, have been **extremely** oriented toward upward social mobility, especially through education. Newcomers from the mainland are from the **upper** social and job/income echelons. Hawaii's private school system, one of the largest in the nation on a per capita basis, further emphasizes the degree of competitiveness facing Hawaiians.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Programs for elementary school Hawaiian children which specifically and systematically reinforce striving for excellence.
- Activities for all children which are based on the efficacy of cooperation (e.g. cooperative problem solving games, etc.).
- Programs for intermediate school students which teach working together in conjunction with striving for excellence.

Testimony

> The changes have overwhelmed us. We are no longer in charge or feel that we have an important role or contribution to make. The proposed Native Hawaiian Education bill will once more offer a major opportunity to restore a measure of necessary input, planning, design and evaluation that must be heard. We know that we are willing to assume this responsibility. We know that, once given the tasks, we can succeed in reducing the appalling disparities. (Myron Thompson, Bill 916, p. 85)

Education has traditionally been the means of collective advancement for most immigrants in the United States, and as Mr. Thompson seems to suggest, it is the road that many Hawaiians appear ready to pursue in trying to catch up with other ethnic and cultural groups in the State of Hawaii.

While the image of an indigenous minority group seeking its share of the available "pie" through diligent efforts to improve itself educationally has strong appeal in America, the fact remains that the barriers to success of such a strategy may be considerable. In the case of Hawaii, for example, recent work by Noel Kent (1979) points up the dependent role of Hawaii throughout its history — at least from the point of discovery by Westerners in 1778 through to the present. This dependency has been such that the ultimate social and economic development of the Islands — and therefore, indirectly, the daily lives of those living here — has been controlled largely by economic and political forces outside the state. In short, Hawaii is not some forgotten backwater that has been of little interest internationally; rather, it is a strategically located chain of islands that enjoys exceptionally desirable weather and remarkable physical attributes. It has also been and continues to be an incredible wealth-producer for entrepreneurs who have been able to manipulate situations and people to their advantage.

For Hawaii's people, then, the location and attributes of their islands has fortuitously put them under exceptional pressure. For not only have many people and many different enterprises landed on these shores, but those that have may well be found to be a cut above average. For Hawaiians this means but one thing: stiff competition, and plenty of it.

An example of an historical turn that has resulted in a difficult situation for Hawaiians is the development of a plantation economy during the later part of the 19th century. Demands for cheap labor on the part of the elite who ran large plantations in Hawaii resulted in importation of vast numbers of Chinese, Japanese, and finally Filipino workers. Although one might imagine that imported laborers might not be all that sophisticated in terms of their skills and ambitions, such was apparently not the case, as the following note from *Nana I Ke Kumu*, Volume II (Pukui et al., 1979) suggests:

> Other events, less comforting to the self-image, were to come. Chinese and Japanese immigrants arrived, most of them as plantation workers. In time, Hawaiians saw many of them acquire property and attain prosperity. New, imported Oriental values were being seen and accepted as desirable; failure to reach such standards sent self-images a few notches lower.
>
> Hawaiians of the period did not realize that many of these immigrants had a head start in acculturation and achieve-

ment. Some, listed by immigration requirements as "laborers," were actually merchants, teachers, tailors and chemists. At least two were physicians. But even the peasant laborer had an advantage. Oriental immigrants had some previous knowledge of a monetary system, a competitive society, the concept of private property, and a work philosophy that had much in common with the West. (pp. 303-304)

Ample testimony to the diligence, skills, and foresight of many of Hawaii's immigrants exists in historical sources of all types. A sample of this is an intriguing investigative report filed by Ray Stannard Baker in 1911 with *The American Magazine*. In his report he detailed the remarkable hold that an oligarchical elite held over the Islands in controlling the sugar industry, and he reported unabashedly on situations as he observed them. With respect to the Japanese workers, for example, he noted:

> Economic pressure, on the other hand, is tending to bring about racial prejudice and racial animosities. The Japanese, for example, because they are so overwhelmingly numerous, are finding themselves more and more the subject of discrimination. They are so irresistibly industrious and progressive! Although most of them were mere agricultural peasants on their arrival, they are crowding into all sorts of activities. They are filling the skilled trades, they have taken the fishing industry almost wholly from the native Hawaiians, they are competing with the Chinese in vegetable raising, they are becoming merchants, bankers and professional men. In the island of Hawaii, in many localities, the life is predominantly Japanese. Their industry is prodigious; and both men and women work. One will see Japanese women helping their husbands in barber shops, paint shops and tin shops.
>
> Nothing seems to balk or discourage them. They take and fill highly responsible positions on the plantations. I have seen a Japanese crew alone in the fields under a Japanese boss using the great steam plows; and they are being introduced even in the high-skilled places in the sugar-mills.
>
> Everywhere they can get hold, also, they are acquiring property. These figures will show how rapidly the taxable property owned by Japanese increased in eight years:
>
> 1901 — Japanese property ... $ 128,163
> 1904 — Japanese property ... 168,545
> 1909 — Japanese property ... 1,748,179
>
> Thus in eight years Japanese taxable property increased over 1264 percent, notwithstanding the fact that the Japanese have yearly sent much money home to friends and relatives in Japan. They are swift also to take on American ways, wear American clothes, eat American food, and even buy automobiles. They also send many of their boys (and even some girls) to the United States to be educated — though far more are sent to Japan. And their boys, born in Hawaii, are now coming rapidly to voting age and there is every evidence that they will, if they are permitted to do so, exercise the right of franchise with eagerness and independence (p. 339).

Baker (1912) also described the phenomenon of the Japanese language school, a supplementary form of education funded and maintained by Japanese laborers for the benefit of their offspring:

> Partly because of the inadequacy of the public schools but more largely perhaps because they are a people intensely loyal to their own language and customs, the Japanese have established their own schools everywhere in the islands. They take all that the public school gives them, and also send their children to the Japanese schools. Although the wages of those who work average only about fifty cents a day, they tax themselves steadily and at high rates for the maintenance of schools. Usually these schools in the country are situated near the public schools and the teachers are often educated men from Japan, sometimes Buddhist priests. In the same way, the Chinese maintain schools of their own and there are also a few Portuguese schools directed by Roman Catholic teachers, and even a Korean school or two. It is easier to get help from the rich interests in the islands

for these private foreign schools than for the democratic public schools. (p. 336)

Education of this type took place within a context of a pointedly neglectful attitude toward public education on the part of the Caucasian or *haole* elite. On this matter Baker (1912) reported as follows:

> The effort of the planters at all hazards to maintain the present feudalistic system not only leads to "dividing and dominating" the laborers, but it finds further and perfectly logical expression in the hostility to the proper education of the children of the foreigners. Education brings people together, gives them a common language and common motives and it makes them ambitious. As one planter expressed it to me: "It spoils good workmen: turns the young men away from the plantations; disturbs political conditions." Save for some few exceptional schools (of which I shall speak later) I found the public schools, especially in the back country districts, nearly everywhere overcrowded, the buildings often miserably dilapidated and not a few of the teachers inefficient and underpaid. In several instances owing to lack of facilities in public schools, I found rooms rented from private Japanese schools. Although a compulsory education law nominally exists, hundreds of children in the islands are getting no opportunity in the public schools.
>
> These abuses are already being recognized by the progressive and far-sighted people of the islands — men who are learning the fundamental truth that ignorance is a cure for nothing. Last year a special school fund commission appointed by the Governor and consisting of Wallace R. Farrington, Edgar Wood and W. S. Bowen, made a thorough investigation of school conditions. Their report is milder, in my opinion, than the conditions really warrant, and yet it makes some very sweeping charges. It says: "In the Territory there is a very powerful element both openly and covertly declaring that too much education is being given the children of lowly birth. . . ." (pp. 334-335)

In spite of the seemingly insurmountable barriers to group achievement faced by the Japanese and other immigrant groups, their subsequent achievements by the middle of the century have been remarkable. For example, Coffman (1972) detailed the rapid rise of the Japanese and others in the political system in Hawaii from the 1954 election through statehood to the 1970s. This rise was also commented on by Abbott (1969) who wrote critically of the nationalistic feelings of some Hawaiians:

> In contrast the Japanese, acting as a united power group and with a much rougher row to hoe than the Hawaiians, now have an important say in the political life of the islands. They have risen from the lowest economic group in the early part of this century, until their incomes are now only slightly less than those of the whites and Chinese.
>
> In 1947, the Hawaiian-white conservative coalition still dominated the legislature. Twenty years later there were more Japanese than all other ethnic groups combined in the House and a very large segment of Japanese in the Senate. Three out of Hawaii's four Congressional representatives to Washington are Americans of Japanese ancestry.
>
> The Japanese in Hawaii learned the hard way that nationalism and power are incompatible. Since 1900 they had tried their own form of nationalism with segregated labor unions and strikes and Japanese-language schools. All it brought them was distrust, hatred and defeat.
>
> Japanese-American veterans came back to Hawaii after World War II determined to end the race hate against them. They decided that to advance as a group they had to end all prejudice and they ran on a program of integration. They took over the Democratic Party, promoted social reform, and swept to victory in the "Revolution of 1954" when the Democrats captured the legislature. Liberal Japanese won at the expense of conservative Hawaiians. "Japanese power" appealed to so many ethnic groups because of its policy of integration and social democracy that it readily won allies. It had to have them, for the Japanese constituted only one-third the population of the state. (pp. 147-148)

Additional support for the notion that Hawaiians face exceptional competition from

the various immigrant groups that have landed here is to be found in a variety of social indicator data. In the meantime it can be noted that interracial hostilities do exist and are sometimes considered a problem. For instance, Paul Miwa, chancellor of the Hilo campus of the University of Hawaii, noted in 1971:

> Much of the problem (for Hawaiians) lies in interethnic hostilities. Something has to be done overtly to bring them together. One of the most positive things going for us, now, is our ability to sit down and talk interracially (Bassett, 1971).

There also may be a certain degree of displeasure and animosity associated with the status of Hawaiians as "interesting, unusual, and worthy of scientific study." For example, Aala Akana testified as follows regarding Bill 857:

> We do have a situation also, where in fighting for our cultural considerations in every entity of economic, religious, and political fields, where a situation occurs like, for example, here you have a situation in Kailua where Kamehameha I passed away and the exact sites that have been restored where his bones were prepared for final disposition. We are talking about the same time period that George Washington was creating America. This is the timespan we are talking about. No one would ever consider digging up George Washington's bones, putting his bones into a museum to verify his existence, but they can get away with that here and they call it archeology (p. 98).

In short, not only have Hawaiians had their lives and their culture overrun with any number of outside influences, but also they also find themselves the objects of study and scrutiny. Perhaps the situation is best summed by in a comment from Mama Loa:

> We are not warring, violent people. We love people. We let everybody do what they want to. That's our way of sharing. But they moved us aside and they forgot to take care of the people that own the land (Mama Loa, Bill 916, p. 172).

Social Indicator Data

Cost of Living. There is little to dispute the fact that modern-day Hawaii is a challenging environment in which to live simply because of the high cost of living. For example, recent government studies of budgets for middle-income urban families apparently found Honolulu to be the nation's most costly major city. It was estimated that a hypothetical family of four would require $31,893 to live comfortably in Honolulu as contrasted with the $22,678 needed to live in Dallas, America's least expensive major city (Brenner, 1982). In addition, it has been reported that a higher percentage of residents work in Hawaii (67.9 percent of all individuals over 16) than in any other state except for Alaska and Nevada. Hawaii's figure contrasts with the 62 percent of all people over 16 in the labor force nationally. This also holds true for women: 57 percent of all women over 16 work in the Islands compared to 50 percent on the Mainland (Hollis, 1982). Finally, additional pertinent contrasts include the following offered by Hollis (1982):

> The census report said the median rent here in 1980 was $308 a month compared to $243 for the country as a whole.
>
> Hawaii's median monthly cost for owner-occupied homes with mortgages was $466, second only to Alaska. For the nation as a whole, the figure was $365.
>
> The higher cost of housing also makes Hawaii a land of renters. Only 51.7 percent of Island residences are owner-occupied compared to 64.4 on the Mainland.

Education. Ever since early Missionaries strongly emphasized literacy, the vast majority of Hawaiians have been able to read and write with at least a minimal level of competence. The following table drawn from Lind (1980) illustrates this strong tradition of literacy among Hawaiians as well as the remarkable gains in literacy rates among Hawaii's immigrants.

An even more telling indication of the strong value place on education by specific ethnic groups in Hawaii is a Table showing the school attendance rates among 16- and 17-year-olds. As Lind (1980) noted these are of particular interest because school was not mandatory for youth of this age. As he said, "Especially in the earlier decades of the present century, when industry and the press did not favor high school education for the masses, school attendance on the part of children aged sixteen or seventeen was chiefly a reflection of

a strong educational urge on the part of the young people themselves and especially of their parents."

Another information on high school graduation rates — the percentage of adults who have graduated from high school — provides an excellent illustration of the fact that competing as a minority in Hawaii may be quite different from competing with a much greater diversity of people on the Mainland. Specifically, a report by Brenner (1982) details results from the 1980 Census showed Asians leading the way with a high school education rate of 74 percent. Other rates cited included the following:

Whites	69%
Blacks	50%
Hispanics	43%

In Hawaii, meanwhile, the information reported by Thompson and Hannahs (1979) above indicates high school education rates as follows within the State of Hawaii:

Hawaiians	70%
Total State	76%

Clearly, when contrasted with State of Hawaii figures Hawaiians appear to be "behind." However, when considered within the context of the nation as a whole this particular social indicator-indexed problem appears considerably less serious than within-state comparisons suggest.

Another apparent indication of a strong interest in education among people living in Hawaii is the widespread participation in private school education. In this regard the National Center for Education Statistics (1980) reported that Hawaii and the District of Columbia lead the nation in proportion of private schools, each counting 33 percent of their schools as private. In terms of numbers of students, Department of Education figures for 1980-1981 showed that 37,878 (18.7%) students out of a total of 202,972 students enrolled in school statewide attended private schools (Department of Planning and Economic Development, 1981; Table 63, p. 84). This level of participation, on a per capita basis, makes Hawaii fifth nationally in private school population (Vobejda, 1981), and it marks an increase from 1970 and 1975 when percent attending private schools stood at 14 percent and 15.6 percent respectively (cf., Vobejda & Keir, 1981).

The situation Hawaiians face in terms of visibility from the national perspective as a minority group in Hawaii is suggested by the following information drawn from a Department of Education application for assistance under the Emergency School Aid Act to "minority isolated" schools (Department of Education, 1975). The federally-supplied racial categories along with the figures for Hawaii public school were as follows:

TABLE 67

Percentage of Population of School Age or Older Who Were Literate 1890-1930

	Age Six and Over		Age Ten and Over		
	1890	1896	1910	1920	1930
Hawaiian	79.8%	84.0%	95.3%	97.0%	96.6%
Part Hawaiian	83.1%	91.2%	98.6%	99.2%	99.3%
Portuguese	29.4%	27.8%	74.6%	81.1%	90.3%
Other Caucasian	91.4%	85.7%	96.5%	99.2%	99.7%
Chinese	13.2%	48.5%	67.7%	79.0%	84.3%
Japanese	2.5%	53.6%	65.0%	79.2%	87.3%
Korean	—	—	74.1%	82.7%	82.4%
Filipino	—	—	66.4%	53.3%	61.5%
Puerto Rican	—	—	26.8%	53.3%	68.0%
TOTAL POPULATION	48.9%	63.9%	73.2%	81.1%	84.9%

SOURCE: Lind, 1980.

Federal Minority Group Category	Number for Hawaii Schools	Percent of Total
Negro	2,484	1.4
American Indian	478	.3
Spanish-Surnamed	3,415	1.9
Oriental	79,440	44.7
Portuguese	11,346	6.4
Alaskan Native	-0-	—
Hawaiian Native	31,759	17.9
Other Minority	9,586	5.4
Total Current Minority Enrollment	138,508	77.9
Non-Minorities	39,203	22.1
Total	177,711	100.0

Based on these figures it is clear that Hawaiians are but one of the federally-recognized minority groups in a school system that is almost 80 percent "minorities."

Minority Owned Businesses. Further indication of the level of competition that Hawaiians face can be found in statistics about minority owned businesses. Kanahele (1982) reports that 20,625 firms in Hawaii were minority owned; of these, 20,226 (68.9%) were owned by Asian Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and other Asians (excluding Filipinos), and 1,368 (6.6%) were owned by Hawaiians.

In-Migrants. While in-migration from the Mainland may be falling off somewhat in recent years, it still appears to be a factor in the employment picture for young adults. A brief description of immigration during 1979 offered by the Department of Planning and Economic Development (1980) was as follows:

> Persons moving to Hawaii from the Mainland during 1979 numbered 22,559, according to the data compiled for the Hawaii State Department of Planning and Economic Development by the Hawaii Visitors Bureau and State Department of Agriculture. The 1978 total was 39,476. The 1979 total was the lowest annual count since 1963.
>
> Among party heads in civilian occupations, 68.7 percent were in professional, technical, business, managerial, or office jobs.
>
> Most of the in-migrants were relatively young. Half were less than 25.7 years old, and only 3.3 percent were sixty or over. Retired persons accounted for 4.8 percent of all party heads.

In addition, the following points were made about the nature of the immigrants:

1. The in-migrants were heavily concentrated in the military and military-dependent population;
2. Recent civilian migrants were disproportionately residents of Maui and Kauai;
3. Most migrants were less than 25 years of age, and only a few were more than 45 years old;
4. Caucasians, blacks and Puerto Ricans had relatively high proportions of recent migrants;
5. Recent arrivals from the Mainland were generally better educated than either long-term residents or recent migrants from abroad;
6. An above-average percentage were professional or technical workers or laborers, and a below-average percentage were male clerical workers, craftsmen, or operatives; and,
7. Among civilian (but not military) families, incomes were significantly lower among the recent arrivals.

Social Science Analysis

Social scientists have not been expressly interested in looking at Hawaiian problems from the point of view of the stiff competition they face. However, various accounts, a few of them a bit older, do outline some of the challenges Hawaiians have faced. For example, one general theme that could be extensively developed is the idea that Hawaiians were simply outpaced — they had very little idea of what had hit them as Western culture rapidly took hold in the Islands. Homer (1975), for instance, described the situation with respect to business and economics:

> But there are, perhaps, far more important historical reasons why Hawaiian entrepreneurship remained almost dormant during so much of Hawaii's modern development. In the first place, by the 1850's foreign interests became so dominant in the politico-economic system of

the Islands that the Hawaiians had virtually lost effective control. Economic development was primarily in the hands of American or European entrepreneurs who had the necessary resources — technical know-how, capital, management, markets, etc. — or if they did not, at least knew how to get at those resources. Shipping, factoring, commercial agriculture, mercantiling, banking and other sectors of the emerging economy demanded a level of discipline, knowledge and business sophistication that few, if any, Hawaiians had attained. So, the Hawaiians were shut out from taking part in the major economic decision-making of this early period of Hawaii's modern development (pp. vii-viii).

An account from Heen (1936), an ethnographic study of Hawaiians living in an urban Hawaiian homestead area in the 1930s, gives a flavor of the times in terms of majority culture perceptions and opinions about Hawaiians, and it paints an image of families and individuals who were basically being "left behind" by developments in Honolulu. It is also of interest to note the comment about education, one that undoubtedly reflects majority culture perspectives of that time.

> The study of Papakolea is a study of the Hawaiians in miniature, from the standpoint of land tenure, social progress, economic development, culture and educational problems.
>
> Government land, easy of access, located at a convenient distance from supposed advantages and attractions of city life, within reach of the requirements of a "fish and poi" economy, afforded a natural setting for the growth of a Hawaiian settlement of the traditional type. Papakolea of old fulfilled those requirements.
>
> Changes in the lives of the people are the consequences of changes wrought in the name of progress under western conditions. Papakolea shows conditions that are characteristic of changes in the lives of Hawaiians in general. The lives of the people represents different degrees of development in the transition. Disintegration of character and personality is largely the result of a clash between their historical and cultural background and that of the west which has been imposed on them.
>
> A critical analysis of the situation reveals that beneath all "the externals of the western order," there still exists much of the "old culture that is effective." The fact that it not only persists but still resists the imposition of western mores, serves to prove that heritage and environment are among the dominant factors controlling human life.
>
> The people of Papakolea are by no means yet adjusted to the new economic and social conditions that confront them. They feel that they have not yet advanced to the point where they have the knowledge and appreciation of western methods that will permit them to control their own property without aid, advice and some regulation.
>
> When all the factors are taken into consideration, it is not surprising to find among them low incomes, low standards of living and resultant poor health. The chief obstacles in the way of improvement are evidently economic limitations and insecure tenure. So long as there is no permanent source of revenue, improved conditions for better living and better health can come but slowly. The situation in that respect could be bettered.
>
> The evidence shows that the Hawaiians are good workers in pursuits they appreciate. The placing of the people in unskilled temporary jobs which offer no permanent opportunity is at best a temporary expedient. Activity along regular and remunerative lines needs to be planned for them and encouraged.
>
> A fundamental requirement is that the problem be recognized as primarily educational in the broadest sense of the term. (pp. 94-95)

A second theme that could be developed in detail is the idea that some of Hawaii's immigrants made very impressive progress in moving up from being contract laborers to being independent farmers and businessmen. Livesay (1932), for instance, documented the relative interest and success in education of the various ethnic groups in the early part of this century. While a brief excerpt from Adams and Kai (1928) suggests the strong interest in education among Japanese residents:

Originally there were homesteaders of three race groups, Native Hawaiian, Portuguese, and Japanese — all native born citizens. After about fifteen years the Japanese only remain, the Hawaiians and Portuguese having sold or leased their lands. The cane is ground at a nearby plantation mill. The visit was too short to secure a general expression of opinion and attitude, but one farmer who had won a prize for the highest yield of cane was enthusiastic about his work. He had made 87 tons to the acre and said, 'I expect to make 90 tons this year.' He had received only a sixth grade education and said that he wanted to give his children a better education. There is no high school near this district and the people are not thinking much about it yet (p.50).

More recently, one suggestion of the competition Hawaiians face at the college level comes from a report by Graham (1981). Working at BYU-Hawaii in Laie, undoubtedly one of the most diverse muticultural educational settings in the state, he reported the folowing mean grade point averages by cultural group:

	GPA	SD
HAWAIIAN		
A. Kauai	2.40	.37
B. Molokai	2.46	.85
C. Maui	2.74	.62
D. Hawaii	2.57	.73
E. Oahu	2.75	.68
TONGAN	2.54	.61
SAMOAN		
A. Western	2.45	.55
B. American	2.57	.38
MAORI	2.70	.68
FIJIAN	2.44	.70
CHINESE		
A. Hong Kong	3.44	.37
B. Taiwan	2.80	.41
C. Singapore	3.32	.42
JAPANESE	2.87	.05
FILIPINO	2.85	.05
THAI	3.24	.35
AMERICAN-CAUCASIAN		
A. Eastern U.S.	2.92	.81
B. Central U.S.	3.16	.42
C. Midwest U.S.	2.96	.73
D. Mountain U.S.	3.09	.63
E. Utah	3.14	.58
F. West Coast U.S.	2.91	.71
BYU-HAWAII CAMPUS	2.82	

(p. 24)

At the same time, his findings regarding the attitudes of various cultural groups suggests that Hawaiians, clearly, among the lower achievers, were not particularly happy in this setting:

> Of further interest was the host, Hawaiian Culture. The Hawaiians by 450 (sic) percent of the sample felt unliked by other cultures. They also expressed the widest range of complaints which may be reflective of a lower tolerance for cultural diversity. (p. 24)

Finally, the question of "bright flight," the tendency of a community's best and brightest students to systematically avoid public schooling in favor of private school education, is an issue that Rapson (1980) has discussed in detail. An historian who is fairly recently arrived from the Mainland, his book *Fairly Lucky You Live Hawaii* is indicative of how unique Hawaii is when considered from a national perspective and the extent to which newly arrived Mainland haoles can experience unprecedented adjustment problems. In his case he was apparently quite shocked by the educational situation he found here, and his description of it provides a feeling for competitive forces, subtle as they may be, among the various ethnic groups to be found in Hawaii. The following two excerpts from his work provide a feeling for his point of view as well as considerable information about the educational system in Hawaii:

> The condition of a society's school system provides one of the surest clues to the future of that society. To the extent that this is true, the signs for Hawaii are omincus. Throughout the twentieth century, the territory was victimized by a two-class, racist educational pattern. Before 1920, most haoles went to private schools while everyone else attended often substandard public schools. When the private schools became too expensive after 1920, many white parents sought for a new way to maintain the separation. Since overt racial segregation could no longer work in a society of increasing in-

terracial marriage, a subtler remedy had to be found. It came with the devising of the English Standard school system. Lincoln School was designated in 1924 as the first English Standard grammar school. Others followed through the 1920's and 1930's, chief among which were Thomas Jefferson and Robert Louis Stevenson Junior High Schools and Roosevelt High School.

The criterion for admission to these schools was a certain level of proficiency in the English language. Many haole parents were afraid of "language contamination" should their children grow up surrounded by pidgin, and to accuse them of out-and-out racism would probably oversimplify matters. Yet how could those excluded from the system not see racism at work? The effect of it was to create schools for haoles, with a liberal sprinkling of haole-Hawaiians and Portuguese. (These schools advanced the march of many Portuguese toward being considered haoles.) The main targets of the system were Oriental children. From 1925 to 1932, Oriental children never comprised more than 7 percent of the student population at Lincoln; this was about the same as Punahou. One scholar saw conditions thus:

> To many of Hawaii's most ardent democrats, the English Standard school system was evil. It emphasized social distinctions between the races. Haoles looked down on students from regular schools. Hawaiian and Oriental children, especially from tougher neighborhoods, accused nonhaole boys at Standard schools of being sissies. To belong to the gang, it was necessary to speak pidgin. Since nearly all haoles went to English Standard or private schools, thousands of Hawaii's children went through the public schools without even having close contact with Caucasian youngsters. The dual system also helped to perpetuate class distinctions. Students at the English Standard schools usually dressed in better clothes and had more spending money. Inevitably, the Standard schools became the prestige schools, not just for the students, but for teachers as well. Newer and better equipment was given Standard schools. Teaching assignments to them were rewards, the best teachers gravitating to them, where they were needed least. (Fuchs, 1961, pp. 277-279)

Gains were registered, however, in the remainder of the school system. The influx of progressive energy at McKinley High School during this period is a story in itself. The English Standard system was shut down in 1947, by which time Orientals outnumbered haoles in the system. Integration had become a reality, but it was not until the Democratic Party triumphs in 1954 that the serious effort to make something of that reality occurred. Massive funding for the public schools ensued and strides were made in overcoming the corrosive effects of the dichotomized educational system. The quality of instruction spread more evenly throughout the school system. A statewide system to funding meant in theory that poor districts would receive the same monies as the more well-to-do, thereby reducing inequities and breaking down the cycle by which the advantaged increased their advantages with every passing generation, while argument can be made for more local control, hopes for the new enrollment was growing (from 168, 464 in 1967 to 182, 463 in 1971), while private school enrollment was declining (from 31,499 in 1967 to 29,481 in 1971).

In recent years the revolution appears to have ground to a halt, having fallen far short of all anticipated goals. Hawaii once again finds a larger percentage of its children attending private schools, than any state in the nation. The two-class system has returned, as the better-off Chinese, Koreans, Caucasians, and Japanese — The state's more affluent groups — have increasingly sent their children to the private schools, while the public schools have become home for the less affluent among these groups and for Hawaiians and Filipinos,and Samoans, all of whom sit at the bottom of the economic heap. Racial violence flares in the high schools, many of which are quite scary places. Far too many of the students graduate from the public high schools knowing neither how to read nor write. Test scores generally fall well below the Mainland averages; morale has fallen; vandalism costs the State over $1,000,000 each year; the system looks to be in disarray. (pp. 93-95)

In turning attention toward the students, we draw closer to the nub of the school problem. Students everywhere probably do more learn-

ing from their fellow-students than from their teachers. Serious students contribute to a classroom atmosphere in which learning can flourish. Unruly students create a jungle. In Hawaii we witness a substantial exodus of the best students into the private schools, leaving behind a milieu in which serious learning suffers. The salvation of the public schools depends upon a return of the brightest children.

They leave for a number of reasons, but a chicken-and egg cause-and-effect pattern operates. The students leave because educational standards in the public school are much lower than in the private schools. Parents who want their children to get a good education and perhaps go on to college conclude they have little choice but to get their offspring into the private schools. The more who leave the public school system, the more that system suffers a decline in educational standards. The greater the decline, the greater the exodus, the greater the exodus, the greater the decline, and so on. The state finds itself caught in this tragic cycle, with no immediately apparent way to break out ot it.

The exodus of many good students (though obviously not all who leave are good nor are all who remain mediocre) is both a major symptom and a cause of the sharp socio-economic disparity in the islands. As has been previously noted, the Orientals and Caucasians have shown greater upward mobility than the rest of the population. It is no coincidence that Chinese culture, Japanese culture, and Euro-American culture all evince strong, traditional, respect for education. Again the cycle: the more education, the greater the economic success; the greater the economic success; the greater the commitment to education.

Teachers and administrators, hence, find themselves facing a student population, a large proportion of which is ill-equipped and ill-prepared for education of high standards. The easiest recourse has been to reduce those standards. Students who cannot read or write or add at their appropriate grade level are routinely promoted into the next grade. The public high schools graduate too many functional illiterates. As the standards decline (there are many exceptions to this pattern, but not enough), the more upwardly-mobile parents scrape up money made already scarce by the high living costs; they make a considerable sacrifice to send their children to private schools. The state, in consequence, gallops more rapidly toward the two-tier educational system.

The Mainland is rapidly "catching up" with these Hawaiian problems, just as housing costs are "catching up." In the ghettos the situation is a good deal more frightening than here. But even though the Mainland is in the throes of profound educational difficulties, the flight of the brightest has not occurred in most communities in a degree equal to Hawaii's. Thus the public schools, though struggling, are still a reasonable, acceptable alternative for most middle-class families. Even if a parent favors the egalitarian principle of public education and opposes the elitism of private schools, as I do, it is not easy to use one's own child as a guinea pig if the educational standards in the public schools are too low and the social tensions too high. Nor should parents be forced into such a discomfiting situation. The path of public education must be made attractive to the upwardly mobile, education-conscious people of the state. As they forsake the public schools, those schools increasingly will shrink before insurmountable obstacles. (pp.99-101)

Major Need Area: Culturally Related Academic Needs

General Need Area: Barriers in the Dominant Culture

Condition 4: Isolation/Provincialism

Condition Summary

Hawaii, as an island state, has been geographically isolated and hence subject to forces of intellectual inbreeding and provincialism. This has resulted in a restricted range of intellectual stimulation and ability to embrace different perspectives in a true multicultural sense. Opportunities abound, for instance, for a youngster to become a Waikiki entertainer, but to become an international opera performer means moving to the mainland.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Courses for high school students with the primary objective of widening student's

world view.

- Maximal use of educational telecommunications programs for sharing with students in other states and countries.
- Social studies courses at all levels which emphasize the place of specific local cultural groups in the **world** community.

Testimony

Hawaii's position in the middle of the Pacific Ocean makes it the most isolated archipelago in the world. In earlier times, when travel was by ship or by planes that were incapable of non-stop transpacific flights, this central location made Hawaii a necessary stop-over point. As such it developed far more quickly than other Pacific islands, with extreme social changes compressed into a very brief time period. With all of the influences from outsiders, the state's main city and capital, Honolulu, grew to become one of the key cities in the world in terms of its salience and recognizability. Indeed, visitors are often surprised to find such a metropolitan feeling in the land they had always envisioned as "tropical paradise." At the same time, though, critics have occasionally noted shortcomings of one sort or another which they attribute both to the climatic conditions and to the geographic isolation.

An example of the type of criticism sometimes heard from individuals who are accustomed to a faster-paced life in Mainland cities comes from an American historian, Richard Rapson (1980). In discussing the educational system in the Islands, he wondered if general ecological conditions might in fact limit the level of attainment of Hawaii's schools:

> At this point it may be enough to note that I regard geographical isolation as a crucial variable which, in combination with the warm climate and the plantation-based history, forms an atmosphere which is mellow and tranquil, but also lethargic and apathetic. Intellectual/cultural apathy profoundly limits the effectiveness of the schools.
>
> Since cultural isolation cannot be changed overnight (assuming the desirability of such a change), and since it works against some of the purposes of the school system, it could be that little real change is actually possible for generations to come. In America we like to think that anything can be accomplished. But we must face the possibility that conditions of geography, climate, history, daily discourse, and culture are such in the islands that the public schools can never be much different from what they now are. (pp. 102-103)

Certainly this is a pessimistic view. In a later passage in the same book he explained further, acknowledging at least that Hawaii has its own "stimulations;" however, he perceived these as being outside of the traditional realm of the focus of schools:

> . . . the general cultural milieu, may turn out to be the most important element in this entire situation. It may also be the most intractable. Schools make up only one element in education. Children also learn from their parents, their friends, from the media, from the island community as a whole and from the broader community outside. Hawaii's extreme geographical isolation has greatly reduced stimulating contact with the outside broader community. In fact that geographical isolation probably explains a great deal about life in the fiftieth state.
>
> Geographical isolation has led to cultural isolation. By a ripple effect it has lowered the level of intellectual and cultural stimulation in the island community, in the local media, and in the nature of contact with friends and family. Hawaii has its own realms of stimulation, but in those activities in which schools specialize — reading, citizenship, analytic skills, social awareness, love of learning — the island atmosphere is relatively deficient. The best schools everywhere are to be found in districts in which family and community life are already receptive to intellectual and social stimulation. Schools insufficiently funded and indifferently staffed will, in these communities, still turn out better students than outstanding schools in "backward" areas. Education is a much broader activity than schooling; the latter constitutes just one component of the former. (p. 101)

Comments on the prevailing cultural milieu in Hawaii have long been one of the key ingredients of investigative pieces written for Americans living on the Eastern seaboard. One of

the earliest examples of this type of reporting was a piece by Baker (1912) during the early part of this century. As all short-term observers have, he commented extensively on Hawaii's ethnic diversity, but he went on to describe how advanced and impressive he found life in the Islands in selected areas. For instance, he cited outstanding publications as one indicator of what he felt to be an unusual level of cultural activity for such an isolated "outpost."

> Hawaii is also remarkable for the number and variety of its publications, both newspapers and magazines, which are undoubtedly very influential in the island life. *The Friend*, a weekly established by the early missionaries, is said to be the oldest American publication west of the Mississippi River. The *Mid-Pacific Magazine*, edited by Alexander Hume Ford, which is about the size of the standard magazines and handsomely illustrated, is remarkable in maintaining itself in so small a center of population. The English daily newspapers show unusual editorial ability and stand with and represent the planters' interests in all essential matters. The Japanese, Chinese, and Portuguese newspapers, of which there are many in the islands are said to be a very potent influence; several of them are extremely radical in tone. The Japanese papers especially publish much solid and informative matter and keep well in touch with the world's affairs. (p. 337)

More recently, *New Yorker* has carried two in-depth reports from Hawaii, one in 1972 (Gray) and one in 1982 (Shaplen). In the earlier of these, Gray highlighted the low-key nature of youth culture protests against the Vietnam war at the University of Hawaii Manoa Campus. She concluded her discussion with the following account of her converstions with a university professor who was obviously accustomed to a very different type of academic environment:

> 'It's like the nineteen-fifties here,' a mainland professor mutters. 'It's like the Eisenhower days. Docility, docility. No hands raised in the classroom, not a question asked. All those Japanese students cramming for the top grades, and the rest — you can't get them off the beach.'
>
> The progressive professor is in Honolulu for his health and is perplexed. He expresses a commonly heard complaint: 'Polynesian paralysis.' He says that the Pacific is like an amniotic fluid that lulls all thought and wit out of a man's system. There is a growing resentment toward the haoles — the whites of mainland origin — he notes, but perhaps only the haoles can get a radical movement off the ground in Hawaii. How are you going to get the students to protest when they're out at the beach all the time? (p. 43)

Later, she questioned the feasibility of plans by some in government circles to attract clean, intellectually-oriented industries and enterprises:

> And Hawaii's hedonistic climate is hardly suited to the think-tank industries, which have traditionally clustered near great universities, like Harvard, M.I.T., and the University of California at Berkeley. The creation of similar institutions is a remote eventuality for Hawaii, which still basks in the eighteenth-century notion that Pacific islands are blessed because they enable man and nature to achieve a perfect balance in the absence of civilization. (p. 49)

In the ten years since this 1972 report, the University of Hawaii has gone through a cycle of expansion followed by fairly marked cutbacks in funding, and plans of futurists seem little closer to reality. Shaplen (1982) concluded that dreams from the go-go 1960s regarding Honolulu's place in the Pacific have apparently not been realized — and may never be:

> The idea of Honolulu's becoming a center of technology and communication has been around for some years, but nothing has yet come of it. Critics contend that in the jet age this isn't feasible, since nonstop flights between Tokyo and the United States and between Hong Kong and the United States are now flown regularly, and there is no real need for anyone who is doing business in Asia or America to stop off in Hawaii. (p. 94)

Whether Hawaiians feel some of the limiting factors associated with life in Hawaii, remains an open question. However, there is some indication that Hawaiians with higher levels of education may be leaving the state. The basis

for this is a report issued in 1974 based on 1970 census data (c.f., *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, November 10, 1974). Apparently it was found that the median level of education attainment for Hawaiians in Hawaii was 12.0 years, while those who lived in California attained a median level of 12.4 years. In spite of the reduced number of Hawaiians counted in the 1980 census, under the ethnic definitions used, the numbers in California were far from insignificant: 14,454. State statistician Robert Schmidt commented at the time that the data indicated to him that "better educated Hawaiians leave this state." While this may or may not be true, it should be noted that outmigration that does occur would hardly be labeled a trend.

Finally, another bit of information gleaned from 1970 census analyses may lend some support to Rapson's contention that Hawaii in general is not particularly conducive to intellectual pursuits. This finding is simply that for all ethnic groups in Hawaii the proportion who have completed four years of college is lower for Hawaii residents than for individuals of the same ethnic group who live on the Mainland. Lind (1980) summarized the findings as follows:

> As an interesting sidelight, one might note that the sizeable minority of all enumerated Hawaiians (28 percent in 1970) residing on the mainland showed a distinctly higher proportion of young adults who had completed four or more years of college than was shown by their kinsmen who had remained in the Islands. A similar disparity in the extent of college attendance prevailed between the four Oriental communities in Hawaii and their counterparts on the mainland, according to the 1970 census. (p. 97)

Of course, these findings do not directly suggest that the general cultural milieu in the Islands is responsible for comparatively lower rates of college completion; however, data such as this in combination with Rapson's informed opinion raise an interesting empirical question.

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs

General Need Area: Cultural Preservation

Condition 1: Cultural Practices

Condition Summary

> The present cultural resurgence has generated demand for increased instruction in cultural practices, such as canoeing, feather-work, study and practice of traditional medicine, Hawaiian music, hula, chant, etc.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Supplementary educational programs that support individual and group interest in preservation and renewal of cultural practices.

Testimony

> The white man's ships have arrived with clever men from the big countries. They know our people are few in number and our country is small; they will devour us. — David Malo

The above quotation, featured in Shaplen (1982), came from a noted Native Hawaiian scholar about halfway through the 19th century. While his prophecy did indeed come true to a large extent, recent years have seen a strong resurgence of interest in Hawaiian culture, practices, knowledge, and values.

Trends beginning about 20 years ago have come to be referred to as the "Hawaiian Renaissance." While some date this movement from John Dominis Holt's 1964 publication, "On Being Hawaiian," (e.g., Bowman, 1978), others link it with more general social developments during the 1960s: that is, the growing recognition of the substantial social problems of some minority groups and the subsequent push by minority leaders to foster pride and a sense of the positive attributes within specific minority communities.

Regardless of the precise origin of the Hawaiian Renaissance, the revival has been remarkable (cf., Kanahele, 1977, 1979, 1982e). Kanahele's most recent perception is as follows:

> Among Hawaiians there is a new kind of awareness about themselves and their problems. It is what some have called psychological renewal — taking stock of what they are, as measured against what they want to be — an awareness evolved over a period of years. In part it involves

recognition of their disadvantaged position vis-a-vis other ethnic groups, or what someone has described as 'the discovery of their deprived status.' But it also involves conscious effort to raise the level of their individual and collective aspirations and a resolve to achieve, at whatever the cost, a status equal to, if not better than, that of others in the community. In actuality, what is happening is part of the quest for a higher sense of communal pride and renewed sense of identity as Hawaiians, a search that has fluctuated in speed and intensity but never ceased. (p. 25)

Because Kanahele has been the most regular reporter on the status of the "Hawaiian Renaissance" his recent comments are probably of most interest. The following brief summaries of developments in three areas of cultural revival constitute his latest progress report. (Kanahele, 1982e).

Music: Hawaiian music has made a remarkable recovery from its near-fatal drowning in the cacophony of rock 'n' roll. While exact figures are hard to come by, the Hawaiian Music Foundation reports there are very likely more Hawaiians learning to sing and play their music, more teaching and more performing it, than at any time in the past decade. For the first time in recent memory, schools (*halau*) offering instruction in steel guitar, slack key guitar, the making and playing of ancient Hawaiian instruments, and other such subjects have been established. More students are now learning to play the steel guitar — invented by a Hawaiian — than ever before. More serious research and writing on Hawaiian music are under way and, for the first time in Hawaii history, a regular publication devoted entirely to Hawaiian music is available. Efforts by the music foundation and other organizations to create interest among Hawaiians, and non-Hawaiians as well is unprecedented. (p. 26)

Hula: The hula, outlawed by early missionaries and then revived by Kalakaua in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century, is recovering, as spectacularly as the mele. Hula has enjoyed popularity for many years, but never as great as now. There are now many more hula studios, instructors, and pupils — and notably males. The fact that more male Hawaiians are learning hula is extremely significant because, although it was often the male who performed the hula in ancient Hawaii, any boy doing hula in modern Hawaii was called a sissy. Now hundreds of boys of all ages perform. There is now greater interest in both teaching and performing ancient hula of all types. (p. 26)

Sports/Crafts: There is further evidence of Hawaiian cultural resurgence in such sports activities as canoeing. Not too many years ago a Hawaiian canoe was a rare sight, but today there are many, and many more being built. Canoe racing has been resurrected and there are clubs on all major islands, with over 5,000 members, male and female, organized into statewide associations competing on a regular basis. While many non-Hawaiians participate, there has never been anything on this scale in over 100 years. The level of interest grew spectacularly with the construction of the 60-foot (18-meter) double-hulled voyaging canoe Hokule'a in 1974-1976 and its achievement in twice retracing the immigration route of Polynesian voyagers. Other indications of cultural revival may be found in such things as feather-work, the study and practice of Hawaiian medicine, and in handicraft work. Many other obscure and little-known aspects of the culture are being revived by Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians alike. (p. 27)

Educators have not been unaware of developments within the Hawaiian community as a whole, as the following educators' statements of educational need from Henning's 1978 needs assessments indicate.

> There is a great demand among students for Hawaiiana and Hawaiian culture classes and activities. At present these activities are very limited. (Henning 1978b)
>
> There is a need for more Hawaiian arts, crafts and music instruction for young people. (Henning 1978c)

A twist in the area of Hawaiian cultural studies which is undoubtedly unique to recent times is the very strong interest of non-

Hawaiians in Hawaiian culture. Kanahele (1982e) described this as follows:

> Non-Hawaiians as a whole appear sympathetic to Hawaiians. They show increasing concern for Hawaiian problems and no longer regard them simply as matters to be dealt with by Hawaiian institutions alone . . . Non-Hawaiians also show greater and more active interest in the full scope of Hawaiiana — the hula, crafts, music, language, sports, and so on, indeed, so much so that being Hawaiian is becoming almost a vogue among non-Hawaiians. (p. 24)

Along with the substantial numbers of non-Hawaiians who have shown an interest in Hawaiian culture and practice, it seems that the need for such rejuvenating studies may be most acute for working and middle-class Hawaiian families whose day-to-day lifestyle is substantially removed from contact with the land and with traditional practices, but who have not enjoyed the rich experiences of some of the generally wealthy descendants of Hawaii *alii* (Hawaii's traditional ruling class). John Dominis Holt discussed this issue in a report from Lueras (1976):

> The upper-class Hawaiians were always secure enough financially, spiritually, and psychologically to be proud of their Hawaiianness. The remnants from the old land-owning families, for instance, would get together in the '20s, '30s, and '40s, and sort of revel in their Hawaiianness. They reveled in being bicultural. So it was the so-called upper-class — the *alii* — and the working-class — the *makaainana* — Hawaiians who lived in remote places who kept the sense of Hawaiianness alive.
>
> Hawaiian people who lived in the cities, the stevedores, the handy-men, those who worked in government offices and as school teachers and secretaries — well, they worked too hard to give being Hawaiian much thought.
>
> And besides, that might have been a threat because they were trying to make it in the bourgeois world — you know, the haole world — and if you're trying to make it in one culture it isn't very comfortable to look back on a heritage that is in conflict with the social, economic and political dictates of the present. (Lueras, 1976)

One of the prime resources of those interested in Hawaiian culture is the group of Hawaiians who are old enough to have been living at a time when Hawaiian cultural practices were more common. These elders or *kupuna* are considered by some to be national treasures, as Arthur Chun emphasized: "I wish for the study commission to understand that these are our national treasures, our elders who possess all the wisdom of our culture and our race. I wish that my sons, along with all of the children of Hawaii, have the opportunity to have the exposure of our elders" (Bill 857, p. 94). One of the most extensive uses of *kupuna* has been in teaching Hawaiian language in the elementary schools (cf., Loo, 1982). While another approach has been to assign students to talk with elders in their own families (cf., Tanji, 1978).

One area in which *kupuna* might prove to be particularly helpful is in pulling together families so that Hawaiian youth can learn cultural practices and traditions within the context of a helping fellowship. Richard Paglinawan, for example, has noted that the practices themselves — whatever they may be — are probably not the most important elements to preserve; rather, he sees a need for concentrating on preservation of interpersonal dimensions:

> 'Hawaiians need to step back and try to be objective about their inheritance, and appreciate the ancient lifestyle. For instance, it scares the hell out of me that so few youngsters know how to kalua a pig.'
>
> Not because of the act itself, he said, but what is involved with the process of cooking is what counts. 'It's the fellowship of family and friends — everyone gathering from all over, helping.' (Rickard, 1972)

Finally, no discussion of Hawaiian cultural studies can sidestep The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate's role. The Schools have often been criticized by graduates from the 1950s and 1960s for the absence of Hawaiian culture, history, etc. in the curriculum (refer to Condition 7 below, "Youth Perspective"). Indeed, many of today's young activists who publicly note losses of cultural heritage as a result of their participation in an educational system that ignored Hawaiian topics are graduates of Kamehameha. However, the initiation of an Extension Edu-

cation Division in 1970 coincided with a greatly changed educational focus, as well as a shift in target group for The Kamehameha Schools (cf., Office of Program Evaluation and Planning, 1981; Report No. 80-81:52).

Among the most widely-known of the cultural revival programs that extend beyond the Campus Programs are Na Pono Hawaii, Kamehameha's Hawaiian Studies Resource Team, and the "Explorations" program. The former provides a team of culture specialists who serve as an educational supplement to the public schools' fourth grade social studies curriculum. They travel throughout the state visiting schools and presenting their four hour demonstration/lectures to entire classes of fourth graders (cf., Yim, January 28, 1976). The latter is a special week-long immersion in Hawaiian cultural studies for students in the summer between their fifth and sixth grade school years. Students are housed at The Kamehameha Schools where they participate in classroom activities during morning hours, while afternoons are spent on excursions to a variety of historical sites on Oahu.

Social Science Analysis

A recent survey conducted in association with an evaluation of The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate's Extension Education Division (Office of Program Evaluation and Planning, 1981, Report No. 80-81:52) suggested that the Hawaiian community may be comparatively less interested in cultural studies as contrasted with their stronger interest in programs addressing educational achievement, crime and delinquency, and job skills (See Condition 6: Cultural Identity for more details.).

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs

General Need Area: Cultural Preservation

Condition 2: Language

Condition Summary

Cultural preservation includes instruction in Hawaiian language. It has been claimed that in order to understand what it is to be Hawaiian, one must first understand the language. There are indications of strong sentiment that without their language, an ethnic group loses its source of identity and roots.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Language programs designed to teach the original native tongue of a minority group as a second language.

Testimony

In many ways the loss of the Hawaiian language may be the most fundamental loss of culture suffered by the Hawaiian people. Numerous individuals testified about the conditions surrounding this loss; two examples include the following.

> . . . Without their language, an ethnic group loses its source of identity and roots, consequently affecting that group's perspective and worth in society. I submit that past efforts, conscious and unconscious, of those in power have created an unnecessary dilemma for the Hawaiian people, their culture and their native language.
>
> In the past, anyone who actively spoke Hawaiian in public was punished, ridiculed, and considered unpatriotic. The individual often found himself being the target of discrimination for speaking Hawaiian language publicly. Living during this period, I grew up with English being my first language, and Hawaiian being a poor and apologetically, my second language. There are a number of historical facts which triggered these sets of circumstances: first, the coming of Captain James Cook of England in 1778; second, the arrival of the New England Christian missionaries; and third, the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy with the eventual annexation to the United States as a territory. (NHSC Testimony, Waiaau, p. 3.)
>
> After the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and the upswing of the American lifestyle became dominant, the teaching of this lifestyle was not offered to the native in those earlier years. Hawaiians were forbidden to speak Hawaiian in public and in schools. Thus the Hawaiians suffered a language barrier. Communication fell to pidgin English. (NHSC Testimony, *Na Kupuna o Waimea,*

Native Hawaiian, March, 1982)

Educational needs in the area of Hawaiian language also extend beyond the need of individuals to learn their native tongue as a second language. For example, it has been noted that Hawaiian is a very complex language (e.g., Aletha Kaohi, Bill 916, p. 203) that still needs to be academically researched. Suggestions of Leialoha Perkins of Chaminade University in this regard were as follows.

> Research in Hawaiian language arts, which touches every feature of performing arts of traditional Hawaii, is nonexistent. If it is necessary to educate parents and children of Hawaiian ethnicity, it is necessary to understand how the one crux in which their identity with past social allegiances lie, the language and its arts.
>
> By this, I do not mean learning how to play the guitar, or how to gyrate the hips more titillatingly, or how to impress tourists with the foreign quality of the native language, or how to chant the different styles. I mean basic research into the "ways of speaking" as the anthoropological linguistics scholar Dell Hymes speaks of folk-ways of speech.
>
> It is incredible to me that in the entire Pacific basin, in an ocean that covers one-third of the Earth's surface, there is not a single university that offers the oral literatures of a Pacific basin peoples as a member of course, as French, German, Latin, Japanese, Chinese, and even Thai are offered at universities of any pretension to having standards.
>
> There is no systematically offered course in Hawaiian oral literature, taught by scholar of Hawaiian or non-Hawaiian ethnicity fluent in the Hawaiian language. One reason there is no such course is because there has been no basic research into structures of speech and chant in context, and there has been allegedly no money for such. Even more critical is the lack of perspicacity in acknowledging the want of such studies. (Bill 916, p. 158)

To some Hawaiians recent resurgence of interest in Hawaiian language indicates that the language is far from dead. If anything the educational need may be to find instructors for the large numbers of students interested in studying Hawaiian. Kanahele (1982a) articulated this point of view as follows:

> ... the Hawaiian language is still very much alive. Young Hawaiians take keen interest in studying and teaching it, something almost unheard of until very recently. More students learn the language in schools and the university today than at any time in the recent past. In fact, interest in Hawaiian at the University of Hawai'i is so high that more instructors and money are required every year. Training young language teachers will likely lead to teaching positions in public schools, in turn creating more students at much wider and younger level. And for the first time in years radio stations carry live Hawaiian-language programs. Since language is the key to the health and strength of a culture, this new interest, shown by young people in particular, is of great importance. (p. 26)

Finally, Hawaiian language expert Larry Kimura suggested that a special office be established to handle issues and recording tasks related to the Hawaiian language:

> An office should be established and be called the Hale Kuamo'o, the purpose of which will be to direct itself towards needs in all areas relating to the Hawaiian language and to record Hawaiian cultural knowledge in various forms in order to distribute this heritage among the people of Hawai'i and the world at large. (NHSC Testimony, Larry Kimura, p. 1)

Social Indicator Data

Refer to **General Need Area**: PROBLEMS AT THE INTERFACE, **Condition 2**: LANGUAGE for data regarding the number of Hawaiians classified as bi-lingual or non-English speaking with Hawaiian as the primary or secondary language. In 1977 there were 84 such students in the public school system (Agbayani, 1979).

Social Science Analysis

Perhaps the primary Hawaiian language instruction model currently in place in the public schools is that involving use of Hawaiian Kupuna (elders) as in-classroom instructors. An evaluation of this program in the Windward District was conducted by the Depart-

ment of Education in 1981. The following is a summary of their finds.

Findings	Source
1. The ho'ike is utilized in order to assess student achievement.	Observation
2. The kupuna's methods are based on their personal experiences and personalities.	Observation, Teachers, Principals, Coordinator, Joint Residents Hawaiian Language Committee
3. The classroom teachers are supportive and cooperative with the kupuna.	Observation, Kupuna, Principals, Coordinator, Joint Residents Hawaiian Language Coommitte
4. The kupuna are cooperative and supportive of the classroom teachers.	Observation, Teachers, Joint Residents Hawaiian Language Committee, Principals, Coordinator
5. Students relate well to the kupuna.	Observation, Teachers, Joint Residents Hawaiian Language Committee, Principals, Coordinator
6. Most students achieve what they are taught.	Observation, Kupuna, Teachers, Ho'ike, Coordinator
7. More teaching materials are needed.	Observation, Kupuna, Teachers, Coordinator, Principals
8. More in-service training in teaching methodology and planning is needed for the kupuna.	Kupuna, Teachers, Principals Coordinator
9. A sequential, structured curriculum is needed.	Observation, Kupuna, Teachers, Principals, Coordinator
10. In some instances students appeared to have a positive change in attitude.	Teachers
11. A teacher's guidebook is needed.	Observation, Teachers, Principals
12. Better scheduling is needed.	Teachers, Coordinator

(Department of Education, 1981, pp. 40-41)

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs

General Need Area: Cultural Preservation

Condition 3: Values

Condition Summary

Cultural preservation includes instruction in Hawaiian values. There is substantial demand within the Hawaiian community for increased educational focus upon generosity, spirituality, dignity, humility, hospitality, cooperation, creativity, and respect for genealogy, close family ties, mediation of disputes, etc. Some claim that Hawaiian values have much to recommend them, that they ought to be taught to everyone, everywhere.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Educational programming that enables contemporary minority group members to learn and positively incorporate traditional values into their current values system.

Testimony

Because all Hawaiians are members of the human species, much of what evolved in the Islands in terms of values and cultural practices is familiar simply because it reflects human nature and the adjustments to his environment that man is inclined to make. At the same time, certain aspects of Hawaiian tradition do appear to be unique. Kanahele (1981) for example, suggested the following list in his report on the first Project Waiaha Conference.

> Earlier we referred to the argument that in a real sense many traditional Hawaiian values that are compatible with our modern ideas and attitudes are universally shared by other cultures and therefore are not very useful in saying Hawaiians are unique. It is an entirely different matter with traditional or some modern Hawaiian practices. There is no question about the Hawaiianness of the hula, *oli* or chant, *leo ki'eki'e* or falsetto singing style, *lua* or type of hand-to-hand fighting, *haku hulu* or feather-craft, *kahanalu* or body surfing, *ho'oponopono* or a way meditating family problems, *'aha'aina* or feast and its many types, *kahuna lapa'au* or Hawaiian medical practitioner, *hanai* or adoption system, the *mele ma'i* or chant in honor of the genitals, *lo'i* or taro patch, and numerous other cultural practices that are still carried on today as they were more than 200 years ago or in some modified, modern form. It is still a wonder that in spite of the devastation of

> Hawaiian culture that we heard or read so much about, so many customs are alive and well. (p. 13)

Hawaiian values form a supportive framework for all of these practices, and many of them have much to recommend them.

The oft-cited spirit of Aloha, for example, has universal applicability as do dedication to family, appreciation and support of one's peers, placing consideration of others before consideration of self, a strong conservation ethic etc. Some Hawaiians talk about "exporting" these and other Hawaiian values to people locally, nationally, and internationally; however, at the same time most acknowledge a need for Hawaiians to adopt practices and values of the Western world. Byron Cleeland's remarks exemplify testimony along these lines:

> There is much that we can learn from the Hawaiian people about life and how it should be lived. But, it is also important for the Native Hawaiian to become a full-fledged participant in the society which has supplanted his own in Hawaii nei.
>
> However, this goal can and should only be accomplished in a manner which attempts to reconcile Native values and traditions with modern Western practices. In my opinion, much of the reticence of the Hawaiian to participate fully and successfully in our society is due to an inability to recognize that it is possible to retain that which is the best in his traditions and values while participating in modern Western practices.
>
> As experience has shown, this concept is difficult to internalize and subsequently put into practice. Perhaps, one way to effectively reach this goal is to provide programs which will "minimize the Hawaiian child's apprehension, improve his self-concept, and thus maximize his freedom to learn," which this bill attempts to do. (Bill 916, p. 198)

Support for this trend also comes from Hawaiian leaders. George Kanahele (1982) is one such person. His thought, for example, regarding economic values has been that "Incorporating traditional Hawaiian economic values into the life of modern Hawaiians alike should be the goal of Hawaiians as well as the community at large." Underlying this position is a firm belief that cultural preservation cannot be accomplished if Hawaiians needlessly alienate Non-Hawaiians in the community at large.

Another way of expressing the notion that Hawaiians might teach the world some key life values was used by Hanson (1977). Relying on a growing use of Hawaiian Creole English ("Pidgin") in literature, the theater, and entertainment, he couched his ideas in the local vernacular:

> . . . everybody talking story 'bout preserving da kine Hawaiian culture. But you know, what everybody tinking when dey go for talk lidat is go for put Hawaiian stuffs on displays hea and dere and every now and den go for dust em off.
>
> No way brah! Putting da ancient Hawaiian culture off to da side just for go look at em on Sunday ees not what it all about. What it all about is using and understanding the ancient ways so dat we go for get akamai like Tutu and Tutukane and learn for live in balance wid our islands and wid our earth. Das what da whole ting all about, brah.
>
> What we all gotta get togedda and do, ees come up wid a modern day "Canoe Hawaii" dat we get from putting da kine modern technology togedda wid da akamai of da ancient Hawaiian culture. You know, eef we can do dat, den everybody from all ova da world gonna come for see wid dere own maka how we go for do dat.
>
> And, when everybody come for see how we make tings go for work gude here, den mebbe dey go back where dey come from and make tings work gude dere, no? (p. 23)

If Hawaiian values are to be preserved and disseminated there are some Hawaiians who see the public schools as the primary vehicle. For example, Margaret Apo, member of the State of Hawaii Board of Education, testified as follows:

> Unlike the other ethnic groups of residents who have a homeland, that of their ancestors in other parts of the world, the Native Hawaiian has no other, nowhere, but Hawaii. The Native Hawaiian cannot call upon or look upon other people in other lands for their roots are here and only here. The Native Hawaiian values must be preserved, and only in education

can this be done. (Bill 916, p. 44)

A more lengthy analysis, meanwhile, came from Darrow Aiona, also a member of the Board of Education:

> In any culture, the purpose of schooling is to adapt the human potential to the existing dominant culture, not to develop the potential of different individuals. Thus, our classrooms, like educational institutions anywhere, express the values, pre-occupations and fears found in the American culture which dominates our islands as a whole.
>
> To a great extent, schools really have no choice. They must prepare young people to fit into the culture that exists — and our children need this preparation, too. But faced with the responsibility of educating increased masses and masses of children over the years, and with the sheer volume of this task, education evolved into the lockstep of teaching all the same — and that of the dominant culture of American society. As a result in Hawaii, in serving the American drive to be biggest and best, to dominate all, our schools ignored the values of Hawaiian culture which are so lacking today. (Bill 916, pp. 58-59)

Social Science Analysis

Social scientists have individual opinions about the world, about culture, and about specific minority groups. And to a certain extent, more so than many might be willing to admit, these opinions do influence their work both in terms of problem selection and analysis as well as in the reporting of findings. In Hawaii's case, some of the work of social scientists from the early part of the century (e.g. Stanley Porteus) has been castigated in recent years as being "racist" and inflammatory. More recently, many social scientists have adopted a decidedly "pro-Hawaiian" stance in that they have highlighted the positive dimensions of the culture (e.g., Gallimore, Boggs, & Jordan, 1974; Jordan, Tharp, & Baird-Vogt, 1982). Indeed, the following passage from Gray's (1972) overview of life in Hawaii is revealing:

> Some months after the Nanakuli report had been published, one of the psychologists who had prepared it, Dr. Ronald Gallimore, sat in his office, looking quizzical. 'I can't for the world figure out,' he said, 'what the Hawaiians want.' He paused for a second and added, 'However, in a few decades we may be on our knees begging the Hawaiians to teach us how to live.' (p. 76)

To a large extent, then, contemporary social scientists have been supportive of cultural preservation and of sharing Hawaiian values with a wider audience. Furthermore, the work at KEEP, which amounts to a large scale social change effort intent on creating an "alternative" public school system that will be comfortable for Hawaiians, can only be viewed as supportive of preservationist trends. At the same time, though, having non-Hawaiian anthropologists as the primary interpreters of Hawaiian culture and as the primary forces behind "Hawaiianizing" education does not seem to be the same as soliciting input from Hawaiian parents and community leaders. Clearly, the academic approach is less messy, but Hawaiians might well ask if the KEEP program in fact will address some of their "felt" needs in terms of preserving Hawaiian values and culture and of gaining parity — i.e., attaining leadership and the highest possible levels of personal and group accomplishment — in the community in which they live.

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs
General Need Area: Cultural Preservation
Condition 4: History

Condition Summary

There are indications of need for within-culture interpretation of historical events, as well as dissemination of history in order to establish ethnic heritage and advance the self-concept of Hawaiians.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Efforts to teach and interpret historical material and events from the point of view of the indigenous minority group.

Testimony

Recent interest in a full range of special educational and social programs has brought

to light the fact that Hawaiian history is not broadly known and that few see it from the Hawaiian perspective. Senator Daniel Inouye has been particularly outspoken regarding the need for the Hawaiian viewpoint to be publicized. For example, some of his comments before the convention of Hawaiian civic clubs in 1978 were presented as testimony regarding Bill 857:

> Most people in this country have very little knowledge of the Hawaiians, of their origins, their land, their history and culture and their problems.
>
> Knowledge of the Hawaiian was indeed so limited that up until 1974, he was not formally considered a Native American, a descendant of the aboriginal inhabitants of our nation, as were American Indians and Alaskan Natives. It became our task to inform the policy makers of the facts; to make them aware that not unlike other native Americans, the Hawaiian people had developed a very sophisticated political and social order even before the United States became a united and viable political entity. We had to bring to their attention that like the American Indians, the concept of nationhood, sovereignty, and treaty negotiations with foreign powers are well documented in Hawaiian history. We had to remind them that the Hawaiian Kingdom, which had endured for over a century was unjustly overthrown with the connivance and support of the United States representatives in Hawaii, and their crown lands were taken from them without due process of law. We have had to explain how these and subsequent events had produced serious demoralization of the Native Hawaiians, making them strangers in their own homeland and relegating them too often to the lowest rungs of our social hierarchy. Having presented all this, we still had to persuade our colleagues that the facts, the similarities in culture, history and present day circumstances justified the inclusion of Hawaiians in legislation designed to help answer the desperate needs and the aspirations of our country's Native American population. (Daniel Inouye quoted in Myron Thompson Testimony, Bill 857, p. 166)

In terms of education specifically, some Hawaiians feel that the historical point of view described above should be taught in the schools, that minority students, Hawaiians included, really do not get an accurate picture of history. Paige Barber (1974) is one such person; her comments were as follows:

> . . . historical events engaging minorities of Asian and Pacific Islanders have always been presented in a supplemental manner. While it would be impractical to seek a rewriting of all history books for classroom use, when new ones are developed, a mechanism to broaden the scope of presenting history should be seriously considered. To continue the provision of separate supplements as is presently being done would be to continue the minority mentality, so to speak. I am not saying that supplemental texts should be discontinued, because I believe that there isn't enough of this. But I do feel that present texts in classrooms could be improved through handling of the subject matter in changing its approach, and perhaps its language. (NIE Multicultural Task Force Report, 1974, p. 3)

The final solution in some individual's minds is to have historical accounts written from a Hawaiian perspective. This was exactly the comment of Betty Ann Rocha, culture specialist with Queen Liliuokalani Children's Center, at the time *Roots* was so prominant in the media: "Hawaiian history is going to have to be written by a Hawaiian" (cf., Krauss, 1977; p. A-4). Perhaps the work of Gard Kealoha, Information Officer for Alu Like, Inc. and now Office of Hawaiian Affairs Trustee, is indicative of the path that such work may follow (cf., Haugen, 1977; Kealoha, 1976).

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs

General Need Area: Cultural Preservation

Condition 5: Cultural Identity

Condition Summary

Many Hawaiians express a need to reinstill a strong ethnic identity within Hawaiian children through more intensive ethnic education. The premise is that

a guided renaissance of identity will improve self-image and enhance adjustment to conditions in today's complex world.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Programs designed to enhance cultural identity and pride.

Testimony

Many Hawaiians have noted that it is almost impossible for a non-Hawaiian to fully appreciate the psychological burden of being Hawaiian — at least for those Hawaiians who still live in the homeland of their ancestors and find themselves enmeshed in the Island social ecology. Holt (1964), for example, of those who have commented on this issue, described the situation most vividly.

> Hawaiians in Hawaii are inescapably a part of the living tissue of island history. In some respects, it is a terrible burden. We are, to some extent, the walking repositories of island antiquity: living symbols of a way of life long dead, but which strangely persists in shaping the character of life in the fiftieth state. To know clearly, lucidly, of what such a burden consists is one thing; to be confused by exaggerations, misrepresentations, half-truths, and sentimental images is quite another.
>
> Any people can bear the burden of their past without removing themselves to the shadowed margins of their communities, to become welfare agency cases, paahaus (prisoners), and public health problems, so long as they know the truth of who and what they are. Can we accept the past in its fullest sense? be rid then of false images? and go about the business of becoming productive, comfortable citizens of the present day, despite our stations in life? I have only to spend ten minutes of time to come forth with dozens of names of people from the Hawaiian community who have made a good life for themselves in the present. They are too numerous to list. (pp. 18-19)

The implied educational need for Hawaiians that stems directly from their historical experiences is a need to "recapture and preserve their identity." Indeed, some have noted that the development of Hawaiian youth in this direction is essential to their taking a place of leadership in the community — and to their survival in today's world. Kanahele (1982e), for example, expressed this viewpoint recently:

> If Hawaiians are to play any role at all in Hawaii, they must retain their identity. It is the sum total of their human qualities, attitudes and values, their customs and traditions, and their history that makes them distinctive and unique as a people — and as a great resource. This distinctiveness and uniqueness can give strength, character, and purpose to Hawaii as a pluralistic community with its delicate balance of competing ethnic "communities." In other words, Hawaiians and their Hawaiianness give Hawaii its strongest sense of identity, to which all Island people — Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Portuguese, Korean, or Caucasian — can relate in a meaningful way, be it through Hawaiian music, dance, canoeing, or surfing, Hawaiian food, words and beliefs, the land or sea. In a real sense, Hawaiianness should eventually belong to anyone who claims or adopts Hawaii as home. It is the common resource — mana — and to the extent that any person draws upon it, that person becomes Hawaiian. (p. 30)

While not all Hawaiians would agree with the concept of Hawaiians serving as a "great resource" for the community as a whole or with the notion that anyone who lives in the state long enough and develops the appropriate skills and values can become "Hawaiian," many would agree with the general notion that Hawaiians will need to be "bi-cultural" if they are to survive. This biculturalism can take several forms, and thus there are a number of disfinct options open to Hawaiian youth. Several of the major ones were succintly described by Maretzki (1974) in his overview of Hawaiians living in 20th century Hawaii. His remarks were as follows:

> To develop and maintain biculturalism successfully would imply adaptation to changes which deeply affect cultural values, personal experiences, and traditions which continue to have meaning. We may pause here to reflect on some strategies which, ideally, may be open to persons in the cultural position which

has been described for people of Hawaiian background. Three possibilities could be considered:

a. A person could eradicate completely all traces of his ethnic cultural background and by denying any relationship to it merge into larger society. or, in reverse, he may become a purist or revivalist who sees himself entirely as a person of his ethnic ancestry and attempts to live accordingly.
b. A person may select ethnic alternation in which he is sometimes one, sometimes the other in terms of cultural identity and actions. The switches are situationally determined and may, at times, be so hard to carry through that personal discomfort and disorientation may be a real by-product of this choice.
c. A blend of two cultures as a mutual enrichment may be established in which neither cultural background is negative in its effect on the other in a behavioral or psychological sense. (p. 46)

Testimonial comments on the situation as it generally exists today, and on the most appropriate course for the future with respect to biculturalism, were offered by Darrow Aiona, a member of the State of Hawaii Board of Education:

> . . . Sympathetic understanding of learning situations, encouraging in children an interest in the literary and recreational pursuits, and fostering a knowledge of the valuable attributes of our own heritage, such as the importance of genealogies and an interest in our own mother tongue and the high achievements of our primitive Hawaiian society — all of these should go a long way in developing the confidence of our children. All of us, as the true beneficiaries of both worlds, should be able to help.
>
> The tendency of far too many parents, has been to go too far in one direction by denying the children their heritage in the belief that this is the key to progress. We far too often mistake a successful citizen to be one who is an academic or economic giant. Many are guilty of fostering this notion by pushing for higher and yet even higher academic qualifications.
>
> I think, one of the most important aspirations of any parent for the child should be that of social ease in any cultural situation. Thus, if we Hawaiian people are to be a major contributing force in quality living, then we must perform a kind of back and forth paddling movement — back to our own culture for inspiration, and forth to that of the dominant culture for confirmation that the valuable things in that society are no different from our own. (Bill 916, p. 61)

As straightforward as biculturalism may sound intellectually, it does appear that it can be a difficult task for Hawaiians to accomplish. For example, Emmett Aluli, a young medical doctor and Hawaiian activist who serves the needs of people on the rural island of Molokai, has described his personal experiences and perspective:

> Drawing on his own background as a Hawaiian in a time of awakening ethnic consciousness and a young professional educated in haole institutions, Dr. Emmett Aluli addressed himself to the problems of Hawaiians in a cross-cultural society.
>
> He used his own family history to illustrate some of the inconsistencies that face many Hawaiians today and create a "schizoid situation" for them.
>
> Aluli described his family as "high mukamuka," a moneyed Hawaiian family, due to his grandfather's ability to hold onto his *kuleana* lands.
>
> "My grandfather was a graduate of Yale and Michigan Law School and he was the legal author of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act," Aluli said. But he added it was one of his grandfather's sons who, just a few years ago, became one of the first condominium developers in Waikiki.
>
> Aluli was born and raised in the city, Honolulu, and it was not until his adolescent years, after spending a lot of time with his grandfather on Maui, that he developed his spiritual awareness of the land, his aloha aina.
>
> Aluli said it was his generation that has had to come to grips with what makes a Hawaiian. "I'm always asking myself what is a Hawaiian because I wasn't schooled per se in understanding or intellectualizing what a Hawaiian is."

He said his parents never considered that part of their parental obligation and at the time his grandparents felt it would be better if they gave up their Hawaiian identification . . . .

"You have to realize that Hawaiians live in a schizoid situation today. I mean, right now, I've got my professor's cap on. I don't feel really good about it but I've got my local boy's plum and I feel really good about it.

'It's like trying to put one foot in a double hulled canoe and the other foot in a fiber glass boat, you're just splitting apart," Aluli said. "It's really hard to bridge that bicultural gap and not be mediocre on either part." (Stapleton, 1977)

Other Hawaiian activists also seem to have had trouble bridging the gap between cultures. For example, Stewart (1980) quoted Haunani-Kay Trask as follows:

"I wanted to get as far away from everything Hawaiian as I could. So I went to the University of Wisconsin. Now that I'm back, I feel like I want to get away from everything haole (Caucasian). I'm a Hawaiian." (*Hawaii Tribune-Herald*, May 1, 1980).

Walter Ritte also expressed the view, in an interview for *Honolulu* magazine, that it is just too confusing to try to split oneself:

HONOLULU: Would you like to be governor?

RITTE: Oh, God no. No way!

HONOLULU: But look at all the influence you'd have about determining what happens to tourism.

RITTE: The governor has to take care of everybody. Walter Ritte only worries about Hawaiians. Until I can get rid of my blinders, I could never work in that place.

HONOLULU: What do you mean, "your blinders?"

RITTE: I got blinders on. All I see is Hawaiian. That's my main focus. There's so much there. So much. There's no reason for me, at this point in my life, to think about anything else. Because it's all there in my culture, it's all there in my values that I learned from the kupuna.

HONOLULU: Do you think it's good to have blinders on?

RITTE: Oh, they're not gonna be on forever. But if you don't put them on, you cannot handle, man. It's like people say: You cannot say that in public — what about the non-Hawaiians, what are they gonna think? What about this? What about that? Before you know it, you got at least five different things you gotta take into consideration. And it bogs you down. Hey, I take the considerations, put 'em on the side. I am concerned about Hawaiians. (Lipman, 1982)

In light of the many perspectives on biculturalism and the testimonial statements of Hawaiians indicating the difficulty of truly effective bicultural education, it remains an open question as to whether or not the schools will be able to serve the educational needs of Hawaiian youth in the area of identity development and maintenance. At the same time, though, it is clear that educators have begun to think along these lines, as the following comments gathered by Henning in her needs assessment work indicate.

Children and pre-teens cannot be expected to fully integrate the Hawaiian and "modern" cultures. Teachers should be responsible for carrying more of this burden than they do at present. (Henning, 1978c)

The approach of alternative programs should be through the culture. (Henning, 1978a)

Hawaiiana programs in the curriculum provide a "taste of success" for Hawaiian students that carries over into the classroom. (Henning, 1978c)

Students need to understand the cultural base for their behavior. (Henning, 1978c)

Whether all of these options as well as others will ever come to pass remains to be seen. However, at the very least, it appears that some "Hawaiian Studies" material is being, and will continue to be, added to the public school curriculum. For example, Vobejda (1982b) reported on the expansion plans with respect to Hawaiian studies in the public schools, noting funding as one of the primary barriers. While at another level, Clark (1978) reported the following after a speech given in Hilo by Senator Inouye: "He [Inouye] said he thinks the most important need in Hawaii

today is to give the Hawaiian child a better image of himself through classes that teach Hawaiian history and culture in both elementary and high school."

If this is to be a trend there are certainly some Hawaiians who will strongly support developments of this type. Consider, for example, the following testimony from Amelia Abreu:

> If I sound angry, I am. But not at one particular racial group. I am angry because as a youth I had no identity or pride, and I see our youth being exposed to the same conditioning. The anger, frustration, hopelessness, the negativity of attitudes directed toward them. If they are exposed to people constantly saying negative things about them for so many years, they begin to think it must be so.
>
> If anything is to be done to correct this attitude, education is the answer. I beg for your assistance in correcting this injustice that has been done to the Hawaiians. (Bill 916, p.210)

Social Science Analysis

To date the impact of interventions designed to enhance cultural identity among Hawaiians has not been reported on. Certainly one of the barriers to any such work is the development of assessment procedures. One attempt in this area was made in the Hawaiian Learning Program in the School of Social Work at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. Students and faculty associated with this program developed a Hawaiian Knowledge Scale which they have used in clinical settings as well as in some research (e.g., Ho'ola i ka Po'e, 1977). However, other than the one report cited here, no evidence of use of this instrument was found.

One example of a study of the impact of a cultural enrichment effort directed towards other groups as well as Hawaiians came from Hayes (1972). She reported that a "Creative Expression" program helped reticent children overcome inhibitions by speaking, playing games, and participating in performing arts such as dance, drama, and music. She also claimed some beneficial impact on reading performance.

At The Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estate, meanwhile, where the Extension Education Division has generated in the neighborhood of 30 to 35 different programs since its inception in 1970 — all of them touching to one extent or another on Hawaiian cultural studies — evaluation has not yet been a primary consideration. Some of the research that was done indicates that Hawaiians in general often have very limited knowledge of Hawaiian cultural matters: for instance, Hawaiian middle grades students were found to know little about Hawaiian history and culture in a formal sense (Hammond 1976). Beyond this, the most extensive evaluation was done retrospectively by The Schools Office of Program Evaluation and Planning (1981, Report No. 80-81:52) with assistance from outside contractors from the University of Hawaii Social Science Research Institute. In brief, a survey of the general Hawaiian population and of a selected group of Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian community leaders was conducted in which 624 individuals in the general Hawaiian population sample and 161 in the selected sample survey population responded.

The results from the Extension Education Surveys revealed that all survey respondents felt that Kamehameha Schools had had the most impact in areas related to Hawaiian cultural studies, i.e., in increasing interest and knowledge in Hawaiian culture. Interestingly, however, both survey samples suggested that such work should be considered of only moderate importance in planning future programs. In other words, the suggestion seemed to be "you have done a fine job in this area, now move on to other educational needs of Hawaiians." Specifically, the general Hawaiian survey sample pinpointed educational achievement, crime and delinquency, and job skills as being key areas for consideration in program development. The sample of community leaders, meanwhile, suggested these same three areas of focus as well as school problems, self-image, and community affairs. Furthermore, it should also be noted in passing that both survey groups saw Hawaiian language programs as comparatively less important in light of future considerations than all other areas of potential and existing program development.

In closing, the following excerpt from an ongoing study of Hawaiian culture and its influence on service provision in social/mental health areas offers a brief case study showing an individual path to enhanced identity as a Hawaiian. The data presented here suggests study as well as interaction with family mem-

bers, the two often complimenting and supporting one another.

The following account of Leila reflects a gradual reshaping of self-image through knowledge:

"I started out with mixed feelings. I went to Kam Schools and I was proud of that. I studied hula — authentic hula — and I was proud of that. And at home my father would tell us Hawaiian riddles and stories, but he stopped at that. When it came to anything else, beliefs or old customs, he would tell me — over and over 'Leave Hawaiian things alone. You've got to grow up haole.'

By the time I went away to college, I wasn't consciously Hawaiian at all. My mainland classmates accepted me. I had lots of friends. But they began pointing out differences in me. They thought I was unusually helpful. I told them about kokua. They began to ask all sorts of questions about the way I lived. And for the first time I realized that I was different, and I liked the difference. I began to appreciate what I left behind me. So I came home to finish college."

Home again, Leila began to study Hawaiian at the University of Hawaii, joined Hawaiian study and social groups.

"In these groups I met others, some part-Hawaiian, who were taking anthropology and archaeology. I got interested in Hawaiian sites and artifacts. Most of all, I began to wonder what a lot of the old Hawaiian practices really meant. The group started to come and eat at my house. We'd sit around the big dinner room table and 'talk story' half the night. Tutu-man [papa] would check our pronunciation of Hawaiian. Mama would talk to us in English. But for a long time Tutu-man still just told riddles and stories. Nothing more. Nothing about family beliefs or about his own relatives or ancestors.

Then I got to know Tutu Pukui and began to understand what lay beneath the surface of Hawaiian beliefs.

One night, all this understanding I had gained must have gotten to my father. I guess he finally realized I wouldn't criticize. Realized that I wasn't just being *nieh* [nosy]. He made a big pot of coffee, sat down and said, 'All right, now I will talk to you.' What finally came out was that he was concealing some 'black sheep' in his family. I think he had associated these few black sheep with a generalized idea of his Hawaiian family background. But that evening he stopped concealing. After that, when I wanted to know about some old Hawaiian custom, I could come and ask and my father would tell me.

As for me, somewhere along the way, a connection was made. For a long while, even after I began to study the Hawaiian language and culture, I thought of myself as segmented. Part of me was haole. That part got a graduate degree. That part got ahead. Another part of me was Hawaiian. That part was helpful and friendly and warm. But then, finally, the two came together. They are both me."

In Leila's case, no real rejection of Hawaiian qualities had ever existed. Rather, they were in abeyance for a time. But what about the one who rejects with shame everything Hawaiian in his make-up? What, specifically, about the part-Hawaiian who, in 1970 said, "You [I] come from a culture that's no good .... Everywhere you go you get reminded that you are Hawaiian ... that you're lazy, that you don't have a brain ... there is this emptiness that exists ...."

Has that image of self and culture changed?

We quote the same person in 1975 after five years of learning about the Hawaiian culture and discussion with the Hawaiian Culture Committee:

"The other day I got to thinking about myself. What I was. What I had done. What part of me came from my haole mother. What part from my Hawaiian father. And I cried a little. Maybe because I used to put down my father — at least in my thoughts. Maybe out of relief because I don't hate my dark-skin, the Hawaiian in me, anymore. I took this long look at myself. And I decided I had accomplished some good things. That I was pretty good. That I really liked myself." (Pukui, Haertig, Lee & McDermott, 1979, pp. 313-314)

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs

General Need Area: Cultural Preservation

Condition 6: Self-Sufficiency

Condition Summary

While many Hawaiians stress that educators must strive to turn out self-sufficient individuals, outcome specifications vary: activists advocate separate sovereignty with full cultural revival, or at least seclusion in subsistence enclaves; more moderate reformers hope for a very strong biculturalism among Hawaiian youth, with the schools playing the major role in cultural preservation and development of adequate life skills to ensure survival in contemporary society.

Potential Educational Interventions

- Separatist cultural revival efforts designed to offer minority cultural youth a viable option to full participation in contemporary society.
- Bicultural/multicultural educational programs.

Testimony

> 'The Hawaiian people are recovering from a catastrophe comparable to that suffered by the Jews under Hitler, to that suffered by the Irish under the British, that suffered by the Japanese at Hiroshima and Nagasaki when the atomic bombs fell, and to that suffered at various times by the Chinese during their floods and famines . . . .'

The above quote expresses Homer Hayes' interpretation of the magnitude of the social change that Hawaiians have faced (Downes, 1964). He is referring to the rapid decline in the Hawaiian population following Captain Cook's arrival in 1778; however, he went on to note that the depopulation of Hawaii had extremely far-reaching social implications, as he put it: "The Hawaiians have been asked to do in 150 years what European societies took 1,000 to 2,000 years to accomplish."

The notion that Hawaiians are still recovering from a monumental "transforming experiment of nature" is one that surfaces in discussions of the need of Hawaiian youth to develop "self-sufficiency." This ultimate educational outcome is one that varies in its definition depending upon the values of the individuals involved. For example, even within the Hawaiian community self-sufficiency has been taken to mean "making it in today's world . . . on the same terms as everyone else" as well as "create a separate Hawaiian nation that can exist independently of the world."

Of course, Hawaiians position themselves at many points along this continuum; however, there seems to be unanimity in the belief that education holds the key to survival for Hawaiians. Darrow Aiona expressed this in testimony before the Native Hawaiian study commission:

> While we have gained much from education since 1822, we have also lost — or nearly lost — much that is of value to us as a people with a unique culture and heritage. And I believe that one of the most important problems we must address ourselves to today is education and how it is to serve the future of our Hawaiian people. For I think we must all agree with the view expressed in the 1840s that education constitutes one of the great instrumentalities in raising up the people. And if we are to raise our people to their rightful role in this community and in the society of the modern world, our schools must help our young people to achieve their goals as Hawaiians. (NHSC Testimony, p. 7)

The key phrase in Aiona's testimony appears to be the last one: ". . our schools must help our young people to achieve their goals as Hawaiians." The Hawaiian community is diverse in its membership, and many different points of view on specific issues do exist; moreover, the perspectives of the youth may not always coincide with those of their elders who articulated the needs of Hawaiians (see Condition 7: Youth Perspective). In short, there appear to be three distinct groups: the "joiners," the "resisters," and the "best of bothers." Each of these groups represents a different stance with respect to assimilation into the dominant culture, and each has its own definition of "self-sufficiency."

For the "joiners" self-sufficiency is the same for Hawaiians as it is for anyone in society: self-sufficient individuals are those who can make it socially and economically in today's

world without public assistance or special help. In some minds, measures along these lines (e.g., crime rates, welfare assistance rates, etc.) are exactly the type of outcome measures that should be used by educators (cf., Kaufman & Stakenis), and many in Hawaii would agree. Billie Beamer, for example, former Chairperson of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, has been most outspoken about the idea that Hawaiians should not be treated any differently from others in the state (e.g., Altonn, 1977); and Sammy Amalu, a local newspaper columnist who is a descendant of Hawaiian royalty, has been her defender and a vocal advocate of the notion that "we are all Americans; let us be thankful; and let us act like it." For instance, the following excerpt from one of Sammy's columns expresses a point of view he has reiterated on numerous occasions:

> The Hawaiian people certainly do not need special provisions to protect them or to shelter them. They are not naive children who must be taken care of and protected. They are adult men and women of astonishing capability and of even more astonishing will to strive and to succeed.
>
> Whenever my Hawaiian people have gone out to meet competition on its own terms and to strive with those terms, they have managed to succeed exceedingly well. I can right now name no end of young Hawaiian men and women who, without any special advantages, have gone out into the business and commercial life of this community and have become successes. And they have done so without asking for any special favors except to have the same access to the same rights and privileges that all their neighbors of whatever racial extraction enjoy in common. (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin & Advertiser*, October 29, 1978, p. B-16)

Diametrically opposed to those who advocate assimilation, or assimilation with elements of preservation of Hawaiian culture, are individuals who envision the "Hawaiian alternative." Whether this involves a separate nation or simply the creation of small "utopias" that offer Hawaiians a manageable, satisfying way of life in today's world varies from person to person; however, discussions along these lines invariably lead back to the core issue: land, and the loss of it's control by Hawaiians. As Kanahele (1982c) expressed it:

> For Hawaiians, land is the most gut-level type of issue and is, therefore, closest to their sense of identity. Thus, to restore their lands is to restore their identity; to restore their identity is to return their sense of pride; and to return their pride is to rebuild their confidence. (p. 29)

As noted under Condition 5: Cultural Identity above, emotional and personal adjustment changes of the type described are considered crucial elements in the educational experiences of all Hawaiians. It is this change in attitude, as well as the development of skills needed to work the land, that some Hawaiians see as crucial to education for "self-sufficiency."

At a more moderate level, meanwhile, the idea of using specific land areas that are appropriate for such use as educational settings for Hawaiians is reasonably popular. Steve Morse, for example, testified as follows:

> As you have heard today, we have got some gross educational problems that affect Hawaiian children in the schools, and many of them are turned off completely. I have worked for many years with these Hawaiian children — many of them sitting right here. They need to get back into the land and into the water to learn how to survive, to subsist and take care of themselves, to feed themselves. And, more and more, what is happening is they are being displaced from the land and they are being removed and alienated from it, so that there is no attachment anymore. It creates a lot of frustration internally, I know, for a lot of the youngsters that I work with. It is a problem that needs to be taken care of very soon. . . .
>
> Just let me add that the land itself is just being used as a scenic attraction right now for many of the tourists. Otherwise, it is not producing anything. Sixty-five thousand acres of land which once was relatively productive in growing sweet potatoes and even taro products, up in the higher elevations, are lying unproductive now. I think these kinds of Federal lands could probably be included in land-based programs for native Hawaiian people, rather than just sitting idle and serving as scenic attractions . . . .

> I think it is important that we get not only the adults, but these young people back into the land, into the water-based kinds of programs where you cannot only provide them with sustenance but, perhaps, make them a little more self-sufficient all together. (Bill 857, pp. 74-75)

For some this more moderate option of land-based alternative education ties in with a general value judgement that all Hawaii should be striving to become "self-sufficient," or at least less critically tied to outside interests and suppliers — the "back to the land" notion that can be found in many parts of the country. Developing this concept, Herb Kane testified as follows:

> This investment should be regarded as being for the good of all Hawaii's citizens; for as the world's resources diminish, self-sufficiency for Hawaii will become more urgently needed. Hawaii's entire economy stands or falls on the price of oil, as oil is needed to move jets or surface transport; and we must prepare for a time when it may be most efficient to produce our food locally. The time-proved techniques and attitudes by which Hawaiians solved problems of survival must be studied and practiced; perhaps not to be imitated, but certainly to be emulated as a successful precedent which is a resource for solving future problems. (Bill 857, p. 87)

Finally, there is the question of jobs, and what graduates of alternative learning centers will be able to do for their life's work. The realistic options for these individuals who often have fairly circumscribed skills appear limited. Mike Kahikina, the coordinator of an alternative education program directed at the special educational needs of Hawaiians, offered an analysis recently in an article by Shaplen (1982). He identified a need for very fundamental social changes if Hawaiian youth are to be accomodated effectively:

> ... 'Most people in Hawaii don't even want to look at social problems, stress, or violence. Jobs are all in tourism, and that's cheap labor. A lot of Hawaiians don't want to do it. They don't give a damn. Their attitude is 'If I go swipe a car, I can make more money than if I worked a month.' I've lived here since 1954. When I came back from Vietnam, what really hit me was the changes I saw in my younger brother — he was angry and looking for trouble. Development has kept us from getting what is rightfully ours. Now they're forcing development down our throats. Families are splitting up because of this. Kids now don't even know what it means to be a Hawaiian, to appreciate the goodness in plants and human nature. I see the resentment building up every day. I've had to stop incidents of violence myself. Our work here is just a kind of Band-Aid. We need a whole new approach — legislative, O.H.A., and the rest of it. We have to patch our hearts and wounds.' (p. 67)

Social Science Analysis

Ethnographic research on the Leeward Coast of Oahu clearly suggested that Hawaiian students generally found little of interest to them in the school setting; however, there did seem to be widespread recognition that graduating was important. Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan (1974), for example, expressed their finding as follows:

> Beyond the basic skills of reading, writing, and computation, and a few other skills such as typing and industrial shop, there was little interest or appreciation expressed by Pumehanan young people in what the schools had to offer. Because they do not see any relation between most course work and the goal of increasing their employability, they concentrate on the general problem of staying in school, putting in their time so that they will receive a diploma. (p. 179)

Finally, The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate has been actively involved in alternative education for Hawaiian youth since the early 1970s, and in recent years has regularly evaluated its programs in this area (numerous reports from the Office of Program Evaluation and Planning). In brief, findings have indicated that education of this type is far from easy. Students with long histories of non-attendance and of anti-social behavior do not turn around overnight. Moreover, barriers to learning and personal growth do not always bend to differences between "Western" and Hawaiian skills and knowledge: i.e., students who show little

interest in social studies and other standard fare may also show little or no interest (and no evidence of learning) in one or more areas of Hawaiian matters such as hula, farming, fishing, etc. Furthermore, prime interests of some youth ("getting stoned," "selling dope," stealing cars, etc.) are a problem from any cultural perspective.

Major Need Category: Culturally Related Academic Needs

General Need Area: Cultural Preservation

Condition 7: Youth Perspective

Condition Summary:

> The psychological burden of dealing with Hawaiianness may not be a major obstacle for today's youth — they live in an entirely new era of ethnic pride and multicultural pluralism. They identify strongly with being Hawaiian. There exists a sense of pride in Hawaiianness and an enjoyment of being part of an 'elite' or special group.

Potential Educational Interventions:

- Programs that provide cultural information and training on an individualized, as-needed or as-desired basis.

Testimony:

The review of historical and testimonial sources conducted in preparation of this report indicated clear evidence of substantial generational differences regarding cultural preservation. For example, it is clear that individuals with substantial knowledge of Hawaiian practices and values were, in many Hawaiian families, willing to let "the old ways" disappear into oblivion as their offspring took their place in the American enterprise. Later, Hawaiians who grew up with little or no exposure to traditional Hawaiian culture often developed severe feelings of personal loss as a result of being cut off from their heritage. It was many of these people who seem to have been most active in the recent "Hawaiian Renaissance" movement. Most recently, though, today's youth seem to be developing a pride in being Hawaiian which allows them to readily look beyond issues of Hawaiian identity and consider the universal issues of adolescence such as "what will I do with my life?"; "how can I make it in this world?"; etc.

An example of the perspective of a young person who seems to have felt a strong sense of loss and injustice in connection with the disappearance of Hawaiian cultural knowledge and practices comes from Gray's (1972) investigative report on Hawaii. A seventeen-year-old senior at The Kamehameha Schools commented as follows regarding the prevailing neglect by educators of matters related directly to Hawaiians and the peer pressures against succeeding in the educational system as it existed.

One example of a person currently involved in the rebuilding of pride among Hawaiians is Russell Kawika Makanani. He is a young teacher at The Kamehameha Schools who originated and taught a course on contemporary Hawaiian issues designed for a selected group of Honors students. Kanahele (1982) reported extensively on this course in a recent publication on Hawaiian values published by Project Waiaha. Makanani's summary comments at the end of the Fall, 1981 course are of interest:

> 'Kids today do not seem to have the same sense of urgency to maintain their identity of culture as we did. They don't have to work as hard for it because it's already here (referring to the Hawaiian Renaissance). They take it for granted. And they don't seem to have the same kind of cultural hang-ups about being Hawaiian.' (Kanahele, 1982, p. 2)

Comments from Makanani's students support his conclusion, and they suggest that the weight of historical trends on individuals of Hawaiian ancestry may be lifting. For example, the following two comments are exemplary:

> 'Today's new generation of Hawaiians is not discriminated against like perhaps their parents were. This gives the new generation a slightly different perspective of how they view people. A young person today, for example, holds no grudge against any social group while their parents may still have a strong aversion for a racial group . . . .
>
> 'Many Hawaiians are becoming proud of their culture once more. In the past, Hawaiians had to model their lifestyles and culture after the haoles, but with the revival of Hawaiian culture, Hawaiians

can live a more Hawaiian lifestyle . . . .

'More and more non-Hawaiians want to be Hawaiian. This makes Hawaiians feel good about themselves since they see people of diverse races in Hawaii taking up Hawaiian values . . . .' (Kendall Mann, from Kanahele, 1982d, p. 5)

'. . . One thing I can clearly remember (my parents) telling me is how shameful it was to be Hawaiian . . . It all led up to one point: Don't be a Hawaiian. This reminds me so much of the T.V. show 'Roots.' Those days must have been really terrible.

'My generation is living at a time when people are proud to be Hawaiian . . . I feel very lucky to be living in the Hawaiian Renaissance. It's real, all right. For instance, before boys thought it was mahu (sissy) to dance the hula (although personally I think it still is), but now big guys are dancing (this makes me shut up). . . .

'It makes me happy to see Hawaiian people being proud. It makes me feel like we're a superior race . . . (Kahekili Kealoha, from Kanahele, 1982d, p. 4)

A number of these young students seemed to feel that Hawaiian values might not find a home in the society of the future, although others felt that a mixture of values would be ideal:

'In general, I would say Hawaiian values are not very viable today. It is hard to keep alive one culture while having to live in another. Hawaiian values still play a part in many lives, but as a whole we Hawaiians seem to be losing them. . . .' (Wintehn Park, from Kanahele, 1982d, p. 3)

'Value systems tend to change as the culture and technology of the society changes. You can't expect to have a stone age culture with modern space age technology. They don't match. It will never be possible to keep them together, for as you evolve you must also change.

'We still have Hawaiian values but they are few and they will get fewer and fewer . . . As Hawaii grows into the ultra-space age, we will see Hawaiian values fade away and become obsolete.' (Michael Nahoopii, from Kanahele, 1982d, p. 2)

'Today, if Hawaiian values are to be perpetuated, I feel that they must be mixed with Western values-making them, I guess you could say, hapa haole. Mixing the values of the two cultures is important because we have to have haole values in order to function in today's society. We have to incorporate Hawaiian and Western values. I feel that unless this is done, Hawaiian values cannot be viable enough to last.' (Suzzy Pangilinan, from Kanahele, 1982d, p. 2)

Identifying what is certainly a new trend for Hawaiians, but one that is not inconsistent with broader acceptance of ethnic differences within American society as a whole, students described the social prestige now associated with being Hawaiian. The following comment is exemplary.

'Trying to be Hawaiian is one of the in-things in Hawaii. In the past, being Hawaiian was looked down upon by society. Now people try to be Hawaiian in their dress, or by taking hula or Hawaiian crafts. However, being Hawaiian in appearance . . . does not automatically mean you are Hawaiian. Being Hawaiian is having the Aloha Spirit. It is being friendly, courteous and warm to friends, relatives and strangers. It is the attitude that everyone is part of a big 'ohana in which everyone treats everyone else with respect.' (Kendall Mann, from Kanahele, 1982d, p. 7)

A similar sense of pride has also been expressed by others from the Hawaiian community. For example, a young social worker, Steve Morse, described a sense of togetherness that has developed among Hawaiians today:

'Being Hawaiian is being here a long time and just getting turned on to what's here — the people, the customs and all that. Just the recognition is important, knowing that a person is a son or daughter of Hawaii.

'It's lik when you see a brother walking up the street. It's just a nod of the head, a flick of the eyebrow, a feeling that somehow you're part of something — something Hawaiian.' (Lueras, 1976)

Finally, it seem clear that young Hawaiians

are far more hopeful about the future than many of their elders and that they may be beginning to think routinely of higher education and of taking their place alongside others in the state in all fields and at all levels of accomplishment:

> 'The role of the Hawaiian in our modern society is looking up. Now we can find Hawaiians in all types of jobs and careers.... The Hawaiian was once considered lazy, but he is a hard worker.... He is getting the kind of education that Hawaiians of a few years ago rarely got. Education, it seems, plays a major role in Hawaiians becoming productive members of society....' (Jonah Waters, from Kanahele, 1982d, p. 7)

Since trends in this general direction are exactly what Holt predicted in 1964 when he discussed issues of Hawaiian identity, it may be that older Hawaiians are ready for these new developments and that they will be encouraging and helpful as the Hawaiian culture evolves further within the modern context in which it seems so irretrievable locked. Holt's (1964) observations were as follows.

> All around I see the evidence among Hawaiians of a renewed interest in themselves, and the future, and their community. I see scores of handsome children who will grow up to be less the victims of their heritage than I and my generation were; and who will be somewhat less able to enjoy the aesthetic lift we enjoyed for being Hawaiians; but who will be less hampered, less bound to the fragmented, but imposingly powerful, image of the past. (p. 20)

CHAPTER V
Culture Loss and Stress Among Native Hawaiians

"Na kanaka 'oku'u wale aku no i kau 'uhane"
"The people dismissed freely their souls and died."

— Hawaiian saying cited in Young, (1980)

Cataclysmic cultural change, the kind of change which can lead to the loss of the very will to live, has occurred in Hawaii. Earlier in this report we described the ecological model of Bronfenbrenner (1979) which includes the concept of "transforming experiment:" the "systematic alteration and restructuring of existing ecological systems in ways that challenge the forms of social organization, belief systems, and lifestyles prevailing in a particular culture or subculture" (p.41). The islands of Hawaii have been thrust into the modern world in a series of such transforming experiments. As the theory points out, changes at the macro-system level will produce changes at the individual and family levels as well. It is the meaning of this upheaval in Hawaii, its implications for the daily lives of modern Hawaiians, which concerns us here. Has massive change caused a loss of culture so severe that a chronic kind of depression exists among modern Hawaiians? Could this account for lowered academic performance and other negative outcomes for Hawaiians?

This has been a recurring theme among writers and observers of the social and cultural context of modern Hawaii. In the book *Strangers in their own land: Self-disparagement among ethnic Hawaiian youth* (1972), Donald McNassor and Randall Hongo write:

> The fear in Hawaiians of losing ethnic identity is well known. There is deep concern over the loss of language, traditions, skills. One Hawaiian school teacher expressed it sadly to us thus,"I fear the Hawaiians will soon exist as a cultural entity no more. The sentiment is so open and prevalent, it does not have to be documented by extensive research." (p.18)
>
> The Hawaiian youth in this study feel a sense of alienation. They feel alienated from the majority Japanese culture with its emphasis on higher education, artistic achievement, business entrepreneurship, and political influence. They feel alienated from the corporate Caucasian enterprises that surround them. That world simply does not have any future for them in their minds except as laborers or service personnel. The thought of one day being among upper levels of management in one of the major hotels or in agriculture is inconceivable to them. They constantly refer to themselves as people whom other groups consider to be intellectually inferior in academic performance, happy-go-lucky and uninhibited, destined to use their hands, not to develop their heads. (pp. 10-11)

It is these kinds of feelings of inferiority, sadness, and depression which have been hypothesized to underlie the negative social, economic, and educational statistics of Native Hawaiians. For example, Myron Thompson, Trustee of The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate, recently offered the following analysis in interviews with reporters:

> Based on his experience as a social worker, Trustee Thompson said he believes that deeply ingrained feelings of cultural inferiority are partly responsible for Hawaiian children averaging below state and national norms academically.
>
> 'Since (Captain James) Cook landed, there have been a lot of putdowns for Hawaiians, and you still see the dregs of it today. Where does it get started? At birth. In the family' (Titchen, 1982 p. A-6).
>
> 'We Hawaiians are an enigma,' says Myron B. Thompson . . . .
>
> 'We are fascinated by our history, though much of it is nightmarish. We are a compassionate people, fiercely proud of our cultural heritage, and we are outraged to see our fragile physical setting — our

tropical waters, mountains, air, flora, and fauna — being polluted and trampled to death by civilian in-migrants, whose numbers have tripled in the past decade. As a result, too many Hawaiians have a low self-image, Thompson adds. Too many function in a constant state of depression. This state of mental ill-health results in social failure, delinquency, unemployment, and unrealized potential.' (Shaplen, 1982, p.57)

Others have written and testified of similiar feelings:

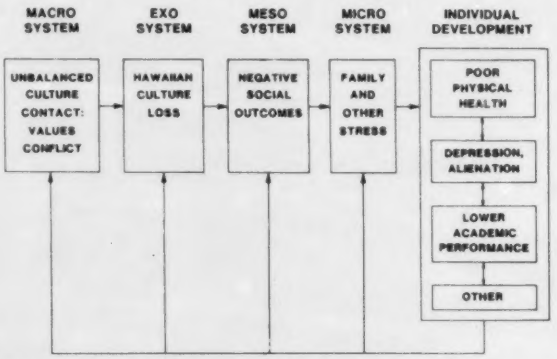
> I come before you today as a young Hawaiian, sincerely seeking constructive ways to remedy the past and redirect the present day plight of Native Hawaiians. The history of the Hawaiian people shows the unjust abrogation of their lawfully constituted government, the unlawful seizure of ancestral lands without compensation, the stripping away of their sovereignty, and the imposition of a more dominant Western culture. A sad feeling of hopelessness and powerlessness followed (late 19th and 20th centuries). Widespread demoralization and disintegration of Native Hawaiians is demonstrated by present day social, economic, and educational statistics. (Keoni Agard, Bill 916 p. 91)
>
> The contemporary problem facing the Hawaiians is a feeling of abnormality in their own homeland, of being at the bottom of the educational and economic heap. (Ogawa, *Honolulu Advertiser*, December 20, 1971)
>
> There is a feeling of hopelessness among most kids. (Henning, 1978a, p. 22)

The recurring theme, then, emphasizes self-disparagement, feelings of inadequacy, fear of failure as well as fear of success, alienation, hopelessness and helplessness, depression. How is this related to academic disparity?

The Culture Loss/Stress Hypothesis

In its simplest form, the Culture Loss/Stress Hypothesis posits the existence of a set of maladaptive behavioral predispositions among modern Hawaiians. This syndrome is hypothesized to relate to the rapid and severe culture loss experienced by Hawaiians since the advent of "western" culture, beginning with the discovery voyages of Captain James Cook in 1778. The syndrome itself is held to include lowered school performance among Hawaiian children and, thus, indirectly as well as directly contribute back to negative social outcomes for Hawaiians. The following diagram graphically depicts this causal chain idea: Implicit within this notion is a feedback loop

FIGURE 32
THE CULTURE LOSS/STRESS HYPOTHESIS



which makes the cycle self-perpetuating. That is, without intervention, one would expect further cultural disparity, further culture loss, more depression, and increased social failure over time.

Other Chapters of this report have documented some of these concepts more fully. Chapter II, for example, showed that while laudable gains have been made, lowered academic performance and negative social outcomes continue to be characteristic of the Hawaiian student population. Chapters III and IV presented evidence from a wide variety of sources showing that there **was** historically an unbalanced culture contact and negative social outcomes for Hawaiians. It is the **linking** concept of depression which will be more fully examined here. Several key questions raised by the Culture Loss/Stress Hypothesis will be considered:

1.) How were the historical changes of the past two centuries in Hawaii **experienced** as culture loss by the individual Hawaiians?
2.) What is stress? Can the experience of culture loss cause it? Can it affect academic performance?
3.) What aspects of stress can be found among modern Hawaiians?

The Chapter will conclude with a discussion of

what further investigation needs to be done in this area.

1.) **How were the historical changes of the past two centuries in Hawaii experienced as culture loss by the individual Hawaiian?**

Historians agree that profound changes have indeed occurred in Hawaii since the arrival of Captain Cook in 1778. Social scientists who study acculturation point out that any contact between two cultures will inevitably result in some changes for at least one of the cultures. To the degree that one culture is perceived as more powerful or influential, changes will favor that culture. Usually the process of change involves some degree of alteration in **both** cultures-in-contact. Even cultures in relative isolation change over time. Clearly, for example, "western" culture today is a far cry from that of Captain Cook's time. So the inference of culture "loss" must be carefully made. It must be distinct from simple cultural change to accomodate changing environmental contingencies.

The weight of testimonial data (Chapter IV) strongly supports the notion that many aspects of Hawaiian culture have indeed been lost. Leaving for the moment the "responsibility" for the loss, it seems clear that what was felt and experienced by Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians alike was the systematic suppression of many Hawaiian forms, including language, religion, values, economy, ruling system, and way-of-life. Indeed, the Hawaiian population itself was reduced and almost lost due to introduced disease. Some suggest that this pattern was the result of conscious colonial intentions on the part of foreigners: that Hawaiians were "ripped off:"

> The history of the Hawaiian people saw the unjust abrogation of Hawaiian national sovereignty, the progressive dispossession of Hawaiians from their land, a dramatic reduction of their numbers through disease, and a progressive dilution of Hawaiian culture. (Daniel Inouye, Bill 916, p. 32)

Others point out that the Hawaiians were striving to make the best of a situation leading to inevitable change:

> With their talent for initiating and accepting change, the Hawaiian people were able to adopt, within a comparatively short time, the avalanche of novel things and ways introduced by the Europeans. As the foreigner exalted the worth of his own ways and deprecated the native ways, the Hawaiian people were persuaded to accept basic changes in their life style and as a result lost confidence in the worth of their own culture. (Mitchell, 1969)

Others simply describe the process of loss:

> Gradually Hawaiians concealed their practice or forgot their knowledge of much of their ancient culture. What was remembered would be recalled with increasing distortion. For when a specific practice was discarded or forgotten, there went with it the enduring, often wise concept from which the practice evolved. (Pukui, Haertig, Lee, and McDermott 1979, p. 303)

While there is consensus that a major loss of culture occurred, it is worth noting that this was clearly not total cultural loss. To some extent this is self-evident: there would be no interest in cultural revival today if there were no individuals with knowledge of the culture left. Why some cultural forms were able to survive (chant and dance, for example) while others were not is a study in itself. It should also be pointed out that the modern culture of Hawaii represents changes in "western" thinking which were profoundly influenced by contact with Hawaiian culture. On balance, however, it is safe to say that there was more of an experience of change and loss among Hawaiians over the past two centuries than there was such an experience by "foreigners." It is often remarked that others came to Hawaii from other homelands, whereas the descendents of the inhabitants of these islands regard them as their only homeland, one that has been overrun.

The question remains, however, of how the **individual** comes to realize or feel that something is missing or has been unfairly taken away. In some documented cases it is as direct as a parent telling a child that he or she should not learn to speak Hawaiian, implying that there is something wrong with a part of that family's background. In other cases is seems to be more of a slowly growing perception of something wrong. Consider the following individual cases:

'I started out with mixed feelings. I went to Kam Schools and I was proud of that. I studied *hula* — authentic *hula* — and I was proud of that. And at home my father would tell us Hawaiian riddles and stories, but he stopped at that. When it came to anything else, beliefs or old customs, he would tell me — over and over — "Leave Hawaiian things alone. You've got to grow up *haole*."

By the time I went away to college, I wasn't consciously Hawaiian at all. My mainland classmates accepted me. I had lots of friends. But they began pointing out differences in me. They thought I was unusually helpful. I told them about *kokua*. They began to ask all kinds of questions about the way I lived. And for the first time I realized that I *was* different, and I liked the difference. I began to appreciate what I left behind me. So I came home to finish college.'

Home again, Leila began to study Hawaiian at the University of Hawaii and joined Hawaiian study and social groups. . . .

'As for me, somewhere along the line a connection was made. For a long while, even after I began to study the Hawaiian language and culture, I thought of myself as segmented. Part of me was *haole*, that part got a graduate degree. That part got ahead. Another part of me was Hawaiian. That part was helpful and warm. But then, finally, the two came together. They are both me.' (Pukui, Haertig, Lee, and McDermott, 1979, p.313)

'My daughter was so close to my non-Hawaiian in-laws that she thought we Hawaiians were silly. She'd say to me, "Mama, Hawaiians are nuts." Then I took her to Ni'ihau for a visit and she got an idea of the old culture. She said to me, "Mama, these are really nice people. What happened to the people on the outside?" I said, "They (other Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians) are mixed up. You mention something as wonderful as *mihi* and *kala* (forgiving and releasing from bad feelings) to them and they say, 'Oh, leave that alone. That's kahunaism.'"' (Pukui, Haertig, Lee, and McDermott, 1979, pp. 312-313)

These represent "success stories" in that the individuals faced and apparently overcame the forces which were tending to denigrate the Hawaiian aspects of their heritage. Others were not so fortunate:

Among the Center's (Queen Liliuokalani Children's Center) deeply troubled clients, self-concept as being Hawaiian tends to be negative. Nearly every misfortune or failure is equated with being Hawaiian:

'The reason all this trouble happens to me is that I'm Hawaiian. There's nothing good about Hawaiians.'

'It's this way (on welfare) with us because we're Hawaiian. It's not this way with other people.'

A Chinese-Hawaiian boy in trouble with the law: 'It's the bad Hawaiian in me. Why are you trying to help me? I'm a bad Hawaiian kid.'

'I act this way because of my bad Hawaiian blood.'

'We didn't give the baby a Hawaiian name. That way, maybe all the badness of being Hawaiian won't go to him.'

'My in-laws (non-Hawaiian) think I'm just a stupid Hawaiian.' (Pukui, Haertig, Lee, and McDermott, 1979, p.308)

Perhaps no other single event represented "loss" more to Hawaiians, both figuratively and in a sense relatable to everyday life, than the overthrow of the monarchy in 1893 and subsequent annexation to the United States of America. Most modern Hawaiians were not alive then, but many grandparents and great-grandparents were, and the stories do get passed along. And the feelings were very real and very strong.

About seventy years after annexation at a schoolhouse meeting in Kaaawa, the subject of aloha was being discussed by a mixed racial group. A Hawaiian told of his experience at age seven with the Provisional Government's police force, adding that the republic was a police state then. He remained true to the Hawaiian government till today. (Agard, 1982, p.46)

Concerning this period of time, historian Lawrence Fuchs wrote,

The essential purpose of the haole elite for four decades after annexation was to control Hawaii; the major aim of the lesser haoles was to promote and maintain their privileged position. Most Ha-

waiians were motivated by a dominant and inclusive purpose ... to recapture the past.

The present and future appeared devastatingly bleak to the Hawaiians, who continued to decline in numbers due to social disorganization, psychological demoralization, susceptibility to disease, and intermarriage. (Fuchs, 1961, p.68)

There were many individual kinds of responses to events like annexation. One was the active seeking of the culture of the past:

On the Windward coast of Oahu, in the village of Punaluu, visitors to Hawaii in the 1960's sometimes met a strikingly handsome man, about five feet eleven, whose bronzed and muscular figure was clothed about his loins with the traditional Hawaiian *malo*, this one made of red cloth. David Kaapu, except for his coconut hat and big cigar, was the prototype of the Hawaiian aborigine described in early literature. Vigorous, alert, industrious, full of humor, and hospitable, this philosopher prince of Punaluu brought to life images of the strong men who swam nearly naked to greet the earliest whalers and trading vessels. He was trying desperately to be faithful to the old ways and said, more with sorrow than bitterness, that he had been destroyed even before he was born. (Fuchs, 1961, p.8)

Others simply hid their feelings or withdrew:

By withdrawing, many Hawaiians kept the haoles from learning how they really felt. But high society hapa-haoles in town could not withdraw. They could only veil their true feelings. One of these, a daughter of one of the last princes — a secret guarded from even her closest haole friends — overstated it this way on the eve of statehood: 'Every Hawaiian holds in his bosom a longing for the monarchy and a deep distrust of the haoles, but our cause is hopeless. What can we do?' (Fuchs, 1961, p.82)

So, presumably, many times over in many Hawaiian households, deep ambivalent feeling became expressed through suppressed hostility towards "haoles," "missionaries," and others, through subtle withdrawal from participation in social opportunities, through hiding of cultural practices, through grudging emphasis on the need to become haole. There are no studies which have measured this phenomenon, but it is not difficult to infer the potential effect on the lives of individual modern Hawaiians.

It may be concluded, then, that the events called "culture loss" have had, and continue to have, effects on the lives of individuals at all levels of the ecosystem. Are these effects contributing to educational problems? If so, how, and with what other outcomes?

2.) **What is stress? Can culture loss cause it? Can it effect academic performance?**

There is a growing body of research and literature showing that human beings share with other living creatures an innate physiological mechanism designed to protect them from harm. This mechanism reacts to threatening external events by arousing the organism into a state which has been called "fight or flight." The **stress response**, while designed to protect, can itself be injurious to the organism if excessive and unresolved. In other words, **chronic** stress can lead to many forms of physical and mental collapse (Selye, 1956).

The stress concept is not a "diagnostic" one, but rather an explanatory one: chronic or traumatic stress can lead to any number of symptoms including physical disease and behavioral pathology. As such, stress is a "non-specific" concept: in and of itself it does not predict what personal system will experience breakdown, just that breakdown will occur somewhere. Because it relates to the **body** as well as the mind, it implies that where chronic stress exists one would expect to find higher instances of all kinds of disorders. The **form** of the disorders, then, would have to be explained by reference to the culture and individuals in question.

Cross-cultural researchers point out that symptomatology and the experience of mental illness differ dramatically across cultures. Some mental disorders are unique to certain cultures:

Pibloktoq, or arctic hysteria, is found among certain Eskimo populations and is characterized by anxiety, agitation, amnesia, and fear. Oftentimes the victims will take off all their clothes and run naked in the snow. (Marsella, 1979, p. 247)

In Marsella's (1979) review of the cross-cul-

tural study of mental disorders, he points out that culture has multiple effects on both the occurrence and expression of mental disorders. This is because cultures will inevitably differ in their definitions of "normality" and "abnormality," in their susceptibility to different kinds of stress inducers, and in their variations in personality. The rapid culture change or culture loss situation is seen as a significant contributor to individual and family stress. Similarly, feelings of inadequacy or low self-esteem would be expectable when an individual is, for example, trying not to teach her children her own native language but another language instead.

Marsella (1979) lists seven areas in which cultures themselves have been found to be the agents inducing stress in individuals:

1.) **Value Conflict Stress**.
Conflicting values within a given society.
2.) **Social Change Stress**.
Urbanization and modernization can challenge existing means of adapting.
3.) **Acculturation Stress**.
When two different cultures come into direct contact with each other.
4.) **Life Events Stress**.
Events such as divorce, joblessness, etc., vary in frequency across cultures.
5.) **Goal-striving Discrepancy Stress**.
In cultures fostering overly high achievement aspirations.
6.) **Role Discrimination Stress**.
Status discrimination places pressure on lower-status groups.
7.) **Role Conflict Stress**.
Individuals in some cultures have to assume multiple, sometimes conflicting, roles.

Clearly, all of these types of stress, and the overlapping between them, have afflicted the Hawaiians since the first contact with "western" cultures. If these kinds of culture-induced stresses actually do have psycho-social results as suggested here, then one would expect to find similar patterns among other cultures who have experienced similar acculturative or social change events.

Pelletier (1977) presents several such cases. For example, the effects of rapid social change in central India is reported:

> There was increasing upward mobility for a number of Indians living in this area. They were relatively affluent, well nourished, hygienically oriented, educated, and Westernized. In the larger communities, their living conditions were far superior to those of their compatriots living in villages and city ghettos where people were overworked, underfed, uneducated, and not attentive to hygiene. Yet it was among the wealthier Indians that such diseases as diarrhea, ulcerative colitis, neurocirculatory asthenia, and asthma were increasingly prevalent. They were overtaxed by the necessity of adjusting to new values and new circumstances, since they were caught between two social systems and did not find security in either one. Their reactions to this period of excessive change caused them to be tense and anxious, and to exhibit both offensive and defensive protective patterns of behavior. Based upon these observations, Wolff concluded that these people were under constant stress, and that this contributed to their high incidence of psychosomatic disease (Wolff, 1968).
>
> Similarly, Navajo Indians taken from their homes and put onto reservations only a few miles away suffered an appalling increase in mortality from tuberculosis after they had moved (Moorman, 1950). Although the new physical environment was nearly identical to that from which they had come, and circumstances such as food, clothing and hygiene were the same or better, the social disorganization which resulted from the move overburdened the adaptive capacities of many of these Navajos, and they became ill. (pp.84-85)

In the opening section of this chapter we noted the prevalence of a theme characterizing Native Hawaiians as having feelings of hopelessness, despair, inadequacy, self-doubt. These feelings are strongly suggestive of what western psychology and psychiatry call "depression." The term depression has itself been used to describe the Hawaiian condition. Do these concepts relate to the educational needs discussed in the earlier chapters of this report?

It is clear that depression can be conceptually related to lowered academic performance, in

fact, in the clinical definition (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders III, American Psychiatric Association, 1980) "decreased effectiveness in school" is one of the key behavioral symptoms of depression. There is some debate over whether behavioral disturbance in children is a **direct** manifestation of depression or simply "masks" its presence. For example, Hollon (1970) offered the following conclusion in his discussion of poor school performance:

> Depression in children has received little attention but it is more common than is generally assumed, although it is often masked by other forms of behavior disturbance. A number of children initially referred for psychological testing because of poor school performance were found, upon evaluation, to be suffering underlying depression which was the true source of their school failure. (p. 263)

He also offered the following perspectives on symptomatology and intervention:

> . . . features which can be best described as depressive are definitely evident in feelings of inadequacy, feelings of worthlessness, conviction of rejection by others, and guilt, along with helplessness and hopelessness which undermines all effective effort. (p. 258)

A similar perspective was presented by Friedman and Doyal (1974), whose article also noted the role that social and cultural influences can play in the development of childhood depression.

> . . . Social and cultural influences also must be considered for their possible contribution to the etiology of childhood depression. Low self-esteem, feelings of helplessness, and ultimately apathy derived from an image of the self as helpless in the face of social and environmental structures assuredly must play a contributing role in depression, particularly among culturally deprived and minority group members. (p. 22)

3.) **What aspects of stress can be found among modern Hawaiians?**

In the case of Hawaiian youth the descriptions offered by social scientists with the KEEP project of students attending the lab school certainly do not match the classic image of depression — the morose, withdrawn individual who has little energy to expend on daily activities. In fact, the exact opposite picture has been painted, as the following excerpt suggests:

> As a group, Hawaiian children are vigorous, socially skilled, talkative, affectionate, and aggressive. None of these traits are surprising; they arise naturally from the peer and sibling-oriented culture. But these traits as manifested in an ordinary classroom can produce chaos; when viewed by a frustrated teacher, they are described in far less complimentary terms, such as 'rowdy, restless, inattentive, lazy, uninvolved, provocative.' (Tharp, 1977, page 16)

It must be emphasized that these observations are **not** those of the "ordinary classroom" teacher. They point out once again how the viewpoint or cultural perspective of the observer is of critical importance in the determination of what is "normal" and what is not.

The beginnings of self-de recatory behavior may not appear until later in schooling. McNassor and Hongo (1972) point out that:

> Two exploratory studies suggest that Hawaiian children may not feel inferior in academic capability in the elementary school. To the contrary, they show a decidedly strong feeling of academic competence and self-worth. They consider 'haoles' and Japanese inferior to them in terms of being smart in school, in reading, using standard English, using pidgin English, arithmetic, P.E., singing, physical strength, and so on . . . . In the sixth grade, the year prior to junior high school, the children began to express doubt about their academic capability. (pp.5-6).

Certainly if the behaviors described in this summary overview of the Hawaiian child in school are manifestations of an underlying depression, one would have to label them "masked," for they hardly create an image of pervasive depression.

At the same time, however, the point could be made — and it has been, (e.g., Lefkowitz & Burton, 1978) — that developmental variables greatly complicate any discussion of depression among children. For example, behaviors

that might be considered indicative of depression at one age may be well within normal limits at another. Thus, it is not inconceivable that the vigorous primary students described above may, after years of teacher disapproval and other aversive consequences, experience feelings of depression that will interfere with their school performance.

Watson (1977), has made the point that "interference effects," or to use the more commonly recognized term "learned helplessness" (cf. Seligman, 1975), can arise when uncontrollable or "non-contingent" stimulation is neutral or even apparently helpful. His research on infant learning suggests that depression, listlessness, and general lack of motivation may result from rearing conditions that provide an abundance of non-contingent input or experience combined with limited experiences in which behavior is responded to contingently. He outlined briefly how a growing middle-class emphasis on "stimulation" of babies might produce undesirable results if this stimulation is largely independent of infant actions.

The connection with Hawaiian circumstances here revolves around the issue of child-rearing practices. For example, Sutton-Smith (1977) has noted that peer caretaking, apparently common in Hawaiian families (Weisner & Gallimore, 1977), might be reconsidered in light of what research has shown to be the "positive" (from a dominant cultural perspective) outcomes associated with attentive maternal care. His point was: siblings are probably not as sophisticated in their responsiveness to young children as a parent might be expected to be. This relates to Watson's findings discussed here, and raises a question for consideration: Are sibling caregivers more likely to provide input and experience on a non-contingent basis independent of the responses of young children? And if so, might rearing under such conditions tend to produce "depressed," listless, or disinterested youngsters who have little initiative with respect to school activities?

This question might be extended somewhat to ask about the longterm effects of the teaching style preferred by many Hawaiian mothers. Jordan (1976), for example, found that many Hawaiian mothers use very little verbal direction in interactions with their children in a problem-solving task. Instead they tend to adopt a co-participant role in which they apparently teach through largely non-verbal modeling rather than through a strongly verbal shaping process — the latter being the most commonly observed pattern among Mainland Caucasian mothers. While neither style is necessarily superior, Jordan did report that Hawaiian youngsters whose mothers used more verbal direction tended to perform better in school. In light of Watson's work, meanwhile, one might ask about the longterm effects on affective/motivational dimensions of a teaching style that operates in parallel rather than on a contingent or responsive basis.

Any discussion of stress in relationship to family life among Hawaiians should acknowledge the existence of child abuse. The problem has been discussed elsewhere in this report, with the fact being clearly established that Hawaiians are overrepresented in cases of confirmed abuse and/or neglect. High incidence of child abuse and neglect has implications with respect to stress among Hawaiian youth. In this regard Ritchie and Ritchie (1981) have offered an interesting analysis of the conditions Polynesian women face in New Zealand, conditions which may parallel those in Hawaii:

> For all these caveats, however, there is no denying that, according to the only existing authoritative study for New Zealand, of a total of 252 cases of abuse detected in a single year a staggering 172, or 63 percent, were Maori, Pacific Island, or mixed-race children. Thus, of every three cases detected, two came from an ethnic background that was to some extent Polynesian. In some way, and often within one generation, Polynesians have shifted from a profile of no child abuse to one of high child abuse. What has happened?
>
> When Maori women become mothers in an isolated suburban setting the situation is generally more stressful for them than for their non-Polynesian neighbors. A number of years ago one of us (Ritchie 1964) reported very high stress scores for Maori mothers in a large New Zealand city. In 1958, when the data were collected, the rates of psychiatric disorder for this category of people were not conspicuously high. Ten years later we obtained identical data for a further sample and again we found evidence of high stress levels and commented that the

need to attend to this matter was urgent (Ritchie and Ritchie 1970). The stress, which was undifferentiated and very general, represented no recognizable patterning of scores into the usual categories, such as anxiety states, depression, mental breakdown, conversion hysteria, or other neurotic problems. So far as we know, neither in 1958 nor in 1968 was this information utilized in community or mental health services for the population concerned.

Since this stress does not fall into a recognized pattern, it is possible that the usual ways in which stress is reduced are not available to Polynesian migrant women, or perhaps to men (though we have no evidence concerning their stress levels). We postulate that there are patterns of handling stress within Western families which have not yet developed in Polynesian families. The Western woman converts the stress arising from the situation into which she has been forced into neurotic or psychosomatic symptoms, into strategies and tactics in her marriage, into visits to her doctor to procure more Librium or Valium, and increasingly into alcohol dependence (Bernard 1972). The Maori or Polynesian mother simply acts out. None of these strategies are satisfactory, but since we see little being done to provide women with other and better ways of removing stress or coping with it we think Maori and Polynesian women may slowly adopt the same tactics as European women. They may then display less child abuse (or learn to conceal it), but will they really be any better off? The matter, we repeat, urgently needs to be researched (p. 195).

Alan Howard (1974), in his book *Ain't No Big Thing*, explored the relationship of ethnicity to mental health and coping strategies. Using data from the Nanakuli studies (Aina Pumehana), Howard related several measures of "Hawaiianness" to measures of self-esteem, coping strategies, and other social variables. He employed both a Hawaiian Conceptual Test and a Middle-Class Conceptual Test. Overall, the implications of the study are that those individuals who score low on both measures of cultural knowledge tend to also score lower on measures of self-esteem and use less effective coping strategies. Other measures of Hawaiianness (percent Hawaiian ancestry, ethnicity as described by spouse, and cultural self-identity) show a negative relationship with self-esteem and social competence. These would be individuals who fit the description defined earlier of "marginal" people: people who are dissociated from both their original and the mainstream culture. Howard states: "We interpret these data as support for the proposition that knowledge of, and pride in, ethnic heritage is an important if not critical element for the development of social competence among contemporary Hawaiians." (pp. 225-226)

In terms of seeking help, the findings are ambiguous. In spite of testimony to the contrary (see p. 162), the available social indicator data show that Hawaiians are not using mental health facilities in disproportionate numbers (Department of Health, 1982). This is also backed up in a study of the use of Neighbor Island facilities (Mebane, Kamahele, & Carpenter, 1976). This may be partially attributable to the tendency to seek help in other ways. In *Nana I Ke Kumu II*, for example, Pukui, Haertig, and Lee (1972) report that many Hawaiians still seek help from *kahuna* practitioners or folk healers before they would go to a physician or hospital. *Ho'oponopono* (a type of Hawaiian family therapy) and prayer are still commonly used, sometimes in combination with modern medicine:

> The danger that lurks today when some Hawaiians pray and conduct *ho'oponopono* in sickness is that they turn spiritual enablement into 'faith healing.' While prayer can certainly facilitate recovery in many illnesses, prayer should go hand-in-hand with medical diagnosis and treatment. Too many Hawaiians today call in only the minister and forget the doctor. More than one client has said that, 'My *ho'ola* (healer, minister who practices healing) told me not to take the child to the doctor.' (pp. 141-142)

The concept of depression was not an unknown one to the ancient Hawaiians. There are a number of Hawaiian terms which mean or imply the dysphoric mood state and self-deprecatory behavior which is characteristic of depression in its clinical interpretation. (*kaumaha*: weight, heaviness, figuratively sad, depressed; *lu'ulu'u*: bent or bowed down as

with weight, sorrow, trouble). Pukui, Haertig, and Lee (1972) report:

> We know Hawaiians of the past recognized the depressed person. He was *loha*, drooping or wilting, 'as a branch hangs low, beaten down, as by rain.' (p. 246)

There may be in modern Hawaiians a **form** of depression which has no specific diagnostic referent. This may even be culturally unique to Hawaiians. It may be less functional to try to fit it into an existing diagnostic category than to simply recognize it as a separate but related phenomenon.

CONCLUSION

Modern Hawaiians seem to suffer from a **new** kind of depression, a being "beaten down," but not by rain, rather, by a sense of enormous personal loss. That this sense of personal loss could be caused by two centuries of rapid change away from Hawaiian culture and could, in turn, partially account for observed academic disparity has been called the "Culture Loss/Stress Hypothesis." This hypothesis has guided the review of theories and findings which can help explain the situation facing modern Hawaiians.

A recurrent theme has characterized recent descriptions of Hawaiian youth: the words "self-disparagement," "low self-esteem," "hopelessness," "alienation," and "demoralization" recur regularly. On the other hand, it was pointed out that the culture loss was not a complete one: that revival of Hawaiian culture has enabled more and more modern Hawaiians to re-establish links with their past.

The concept of **stress** as the underlying mechanism was shown to be a more universal explanatory construct, connecting body and mind with psycho-social forces. The situation confronted by Hawaiians was shown to be similar to that of other groups undergoing cultural stresses.

In attempting to define what stress is, the concept of depression was discussed. While **some** of the symptoms characteristic of clinical depression were similar to the traits observed in modern Hawaiians, others were not. There was not a complete match. A consideration of the cross-cultural meaning of diagnostic categories, however, pointed out that the clinical definition may be culturally limited and thus may not relate completely to the Hawaiian situation.

In support of this concept, data showing that Hawaiians are **not** over-represented in admissions to state mental health facilities was reviewed. It was emphasized that this finding could have multiple explanations, from a reluctance to seek psychiatric help to a lack of recognition of the situation as one requiring help.

What can be concluded? What **does** exist seems to be something similar to clinical depression, but not completely the same. It may be culturally unique to modern Hawaiians even though it was shown to have similarities to syndromes affecting other groups. It does seem to be embedded in a multi-level explanatory system suggested by the ecological model. It cannot be attributed solely to "historical" forces. Neither is it a purely individual phenomenon. The most severe limitation to our understanding may be semantic: we do not have a convenient label which completely fits the situation. It may thus be misleading to call it depression, but there is no other single term to describe it, except, perhaps, *loha*. It may, then, be more effective in terms of planning future research and interventions to center thinking around the concept of stress: of identifying the types of stressors which have affected and are affecting given individuals or groups and of identifying the kinds of physical and mental outcomes which these stressors produce. Specifically, **how can the particular stressors be identified which are most responsible for lowered academic performance, and what can be done about eliminating them or enhancing the capability to cope with them**?

It may be concluded, then, that the Culture Loss/Stress Hypothesis remains just that: a hypothesis which may be most useful in guiding future research and intervention for the benefit of modern Hawaiian students. There are several areas for further investigation:

1) What are the exact behaviors which make up the syndrome in modern Hawaiian young people? Lowered academic performance is there, low self-image, feelings of despondency and of being a stranger in one's own land. Less is known about some of the other symptoms which are related to clinical depression: thoughts of death or suicide, sleeplessness, changes in appetite or

weight, loss of pleasure in normal activities. These should be investigated further.

2) What is the epidemiology of the depressive syndrome? When does it begin? How severe is it for how many people? Why is there no disproportionate representation of Hawaiians in mental health treatment? How much of the real problem is even known about among mental health professionals?

3) Assuming that the existence of the problem is a real and immediate one for many modern Hawaiians, what kinds of intervention strategies might be most beneficial? If the use of mental health professionals is still not highly valued by the community, how can in-culture healers or others generalize their skills to helping more of their own community? Or should efforts be placed in **education** relating to **stress reduction**?

4) What of the many Hawaiians who do **not** suffer from this syndrome? There is evidence of increasing school success, of improving economic conditions, of Hawaiian leaders and potential leaders who are successfully making their way through the macro-system of modern-day America. How can their successes be converted to an image of success for the entire Hawaiian community?

Perhaps the most exciting prospect raised by consideration of the Culture Loss/Stress Hypothesis is that the future does **not** have to be depressing. Others have made encouraging breakthroughs in changing self-esteem through the creative use of modern media (e.g., Johnston and Ettema, 1982). This is what is seemingly needed: to turn around a community's point of view about itself. Many more young people today are able to say, "I am proud to be Hawaiian." In the future, people everywhere should be able to say, "If you want an example of a success story, look at the Hawaiians."

CHAPTER VI
The Search For Solutions

The second goal of the Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment Project was to locate and identify Native American educational programs which could effectively meet the needs of Native Hawaiians. Another aspect of this goal took shape during the course of the study when the Executive Steering Committee suggested that the search be broadened to include local Hawaiian educational programs as well as national "effective schools" research. This chapter documents the process and results of the pursuit of these goals.

NATIVE AMERICAN SOLUTIONS

The reason that Native American programs were specified as having the potential for meeting the needs of Native Hawaiians stems back to the history of Federal efforts for the education of American Indians. Many articles and publications are dedicated to describing and analyzing the history and status of the Federal role in Indian education (Fuchs and Havighurst, 1973; Ryan, 1982; Osman, 1981 etc). Rather than attempt a complete review of this history, only a few recent highlights which relate to the case of Native Hawaiians will be summarized.

During the decade of the 1960s a series of studies of American Indian education was undertaken. Much of the impetus for these studies was similar to the situation in Hawaii: observations that Indian students were not achieving at levels commensurate with other students, that the schools were failing the Indians, that many negative social outcomes attended school failure of Indian youth. The overall study effort was called The National Study of American Indian Education (NSAIE). It took four years, between 1967 and 1971, involved eight university centers and 30 Indian communities, and was assisted by an Advisory Committee of 12, including Indians and non-Indians. The Final Report of the study consisted of 45 separate papers. The Summary Report and Recommendations were written by Professor Robert Havighurst of the University of Chicago (1980). The Study was financed by the U.S. Office of Education.

Many of the Recommendations of the NSAIE were converted into legislative action in the Indian Education Act of 1972 (Title IV, P.L. 91-319). This Act, and subsequent legislation such as the Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 (P.L. 93-638) served to broaden the scope of the served Indian population and to give the Indian communities a stronger voice in determining the kinds of educational programs needed for them. The Indian Education Act also created the Office of Indian Education (OIE), which is now under the U.S. Office of Education (ED). The OIE became the central focal point in efforts by the Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment Project to learn more about effective Native American Programs.

The current status of Native American education in general, and the OIE programs in particular, is extremely complex and difficult to evaluate. There had been an assumption made in planning NHEAP that there were many similarities between American Indians and Native Hawaiians in terms of loss of culture and cultural suppression. There seemed to be parallels, too, in the kinds of educational problems which confront the two groups. It was logical, therefore, to think that Indian Education Programs, some of which had been underway for a decade or more, had been able to derive solutions which could work equally well for Hawaiians.

In order for the NHEAP staff to find out which programs might be effective, the original plan was to use a nomination system for Indian programs and a criteria-of-effectiveness system similar to that used by the National Diffusion Network to establish effectiveness.

Nominations were sought by writing to the regional headquarters of the Office of Indian Education and by interviewing staff members of the central office in Washington, D.C. This process produced an enormous amount of information. It provided insights into the operation of the whole program as well as the names of specific programs felt by the OIE staff to be effective.

One of the first things to become clear was

that few of the OIE programs had sufficient data to qualify for the kind of effectiveness determination which had been originally planned. Second, there were so many programs nation-wide (1,173 at the time of the study) that asking individuals to make discriminations among them to determine effectiveness was not feasible. In addition, many of the central office staff who were interviewed had only recently assumed their positions, further reducing their familiarity with the programs. Moreover, the central office had not until recently been required to conduct site visits or program audits on a regular basis. At the time of the interviews, they were implementing a system of "rolling audits," visiting a certain number of programs in each region each year. Thus they were more familiar with those they had just visited than with others.

Limitations notwithstanding, and through the outstanding cooperation of OIE, a list of nominated programs was derived from these sources. This list included a total of 76 individual OIE programs. An inquiry letter was sent to each of these programs, asking for further information about program history, structure, number of students served, outcome evaluations, etc. By the time of the deadline set for this report, a total of 26 had responded. (A number of other responses have arrived since and will be included in follow-up studies.) Table 67 shows the regional distribution of these programs nominated and those who responded.

Within the time constraints of this study, the best that could be done was a listing of the important characteristics of those programs nominated as effective.

Table 68 gives the information in this breakdown. The most common characteristics cited by the programs as contributing to their effectiveness are the following:

- parent involvement
- tutoring for basic skills
- cultural instruction (in Indian culture)
- counseling
- career planning assistance
- substance abuse education
- locally developed, locally relevant materials
- leadership training

In addition to receiving feedback from individual examples of programs conducted by the Office of Indian Education, the inquiry process pointed out how aspects of the rules and regulations underlying Federal legislation themselves determine the shape and, to some extent, the limitations of the individual programs. For example, the importance of parental involvement was mentioned as contributing in many cases to program effectiveness. The presence of a Parent Advisory Council is required by the rules and regulations of the Indian Education Act, for what are called Part A projects. What this means is that **all** such projects must have parental involvement. Now, what separates effective from ineffective parent involvement becomes the crucial question, and one which is exceedingly difficult to answer. In other words, just requiring that there be parent participation does not in itself **assure** program success.

Along similar lines, it was pointed out to the NHEAP staff that Indian Education Act funds must be spent on Indian children. Each LEA (local educational agency) must survey and report on the actual number of Indian children in their district who are eligible for services. Since non-Indian children are **not** eligible, where programs exist in schools with mixed

TABLE 68

Office of Indian Education Programs

Office of Indian Education Geographic Region	Number of Programs	Number of Programs Nominated as Effective	Number of Respondent Programs
Northwest Branch	180	22	7
Southwest Branch	300	13	4
South Central Branch	303	17	7
Plains Branch	211	8	5
Eastern Branch	179	15	3
TOTAL	1173	76	26

TABLE 69

Indian Education Characteristics

Branch	Grade Level Of Indian Students Served	Total Number Of Students In School District	Number Of Indian Students Served In District	Percent Of Indian Students In District	Amount Of Federal Funding To District	Average Per Student Expenditure	Counseling Provided	Tutoring Provided	Cultural Instruction Provided	Career Planning Assistance Provided	Leadership Training Provided	Local Relevant Materials Developed/ Provided	Substance Abuse Education Provided
Northwest	K - 12	18,000	78	0.4%	$ 14,646	$188	x	x	x	x	x	x	–
Northwest	1 - 8	–	75	–	$ 14,569	$194	–	x	x	–	–	–	–
Northwest	1 - 12	29,959	200	0.6%	–	–	x	x	x	x	–	–	–
Northwest	K - 12	–	300	–	$ 58,859	$196	–	x	x	x	–	–	–
Northwest	1 - 12	1,699	298	17.5%	–	–	x	x	–	x	–	–	–
Northwest	K - 12	–	300	–	$ 64,678	$215	–	x	x	–	–	–	–
Northwest	K - 12	210	111	52.8%	$ 46,709	$420	x	x	–	–	–	–	–
Southwest	K - 12	25,000	412	1.6%	–	–	x	x	x	–	x	–	–
Southwest	K - 12	22,777	360	1.6%	$ 60,840	$169	–	x	–	–	–	–	–
Southwest	K - 12	–	75	–	$ 12,236	$163	x	x	x	–	–	–	–
Southwest	K - 12	–	1,312	–	–	–	x	x	x	x	–	–	–
South Central	1 - 12	3,676	200	5.4%	$ 50,000	$250	x	x	–	–	–	–	–
South Central	K - 12	–	558	–	$ 77,312	$139	x	x	x	x	–	–	x
South Central	K - 12	–	476	–	$ 65,951	$139	x	–	x	x	–	–	–
South Central	K - 12	–	155	–	$ 20,936	$135	x	x	x	x	–	–	x
South Central	Preschool/Adult	–	–	–	$2,664,674	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
South Central	K - 12	321	292	90.9%	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–
South Central	K - 12	24,675	180	0.7%	$ 28,000	$156	x	x	–	x	–	–	–
Plains	K - 12	–	–	–	$ 215,543	–	–	x	x	–	–	x	–
Plains	K - 12	–	–	–	$ 48,685	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–
Plains	K - 12	1,689	1,645	97.3%	$ 323,388	$197	–	x	x	x	–	–	–
Plains	K - 12	–	35	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–
Plains	K - 12	–	725	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–	x
Eastern	K - 12	4,894	108	2.2%	$ 11,719	$109	x	x	x	–	–	–	–
Eastern	1 - 12	–	–	–	$ 14,000	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–
Eastern	K - 12	–	101	–	$ 7,312	$ 72	–	–	x	–	–	–	–

student populations the Indian children must be "pulled out" of their regular class to attend the Title IV program for tutoring or for cultural instruction. Since all of Hawaii's schools are mixed and the idea of a pull-out program only for Hawaiian children is both unpopular with Hawaiian communities and with the Hawaii State Department of Education, this kind of underlying program determinant would preclude a basic type of Indian education program in Hawaii.

To summarize, then, clearly the task of evaluating individual Indian Education Programs for effectiveness was beyond the scope of the present study. The individual respondent programs, however, represent a rich resource for further interaction and program development. It would be appropriate for this to be an area for further inquiry and research.

LOCAL HAWAIIAN SOLUTIONS

When the attention of the NHEAP staff turned to local attempts to solve the educational problems of Hawaiian students the situation became simpler and yet more difficult. The logic of the approach is inescapable: despite any number of cultural similarities with Native Americans, the educational needs of Hawaiians are, to at least some extent, unique. Thus, unique and locally generated solutions might be the ones most expected to produce positive outcomes. Locally however, the entire context of education as it confronts the Hawaiian youngster must be considered. Earlier chapters of this report have described some of the systemic characteristics of the public and private school situation in Hawaii. Many pages have been devoted to describing some of the barriers imposed by the system as well as some of the attempts to remedy the situation.

Basically, the local DOE has to assume that its programs work for **all** children: it cannot work to favor one group over another. It has followed all of the recent trends at the national level, resulting essentially in a plethora of intervention and compensatory efforts, primarily at the elementary grades and primarily in reading rather than math or science. Data presented in Chapter II of this report indicate that some of these efforts may be one of the reasons that Hawaiian children seem to be doing better on standardized achievement tests than they were a few years ago. Nonetheless, the gaps in achievement for the Hawaiians remain great.

Currently, in a effort to keep up with the proliferation of experimental and "demonstration" projects and models, the DOE has created its own "diffusion" office and plans for a system for disseminating information about proven projects. The NHEAP staff contacted this office and solicited information on programs regarded as successful at present. None of the programs described to the study staff were earmarked for Hawaiian students. Basically these are variations on themes based on Federal funding. As just one example, a program for involving parents of K-1 students was developed at one elementary school with a very high Hawaiian enrollment under funding from both ESEA Title IV-C and Title II (P.L 95-561). The need addressed was to increase parental involvement as well as students' scores on a supplementary standardized test (California Test of Basic Skills). Activities included meetings, workshops, demonstrations, observations, and training in parenting skills. The school curriculum was Anne Adams' *Success in Beginning Reading and Writing*. There are other such projects statewide.

The Kamehameha Schools Early Education Program (KEEP) has the dual distinction of being developed specifically for Hawaiian children as well as being thoroughly evaluated and data-based. As such it is one of the only cases of proven effectiveness for Hawaiian children. KEEP's approach and results have been summarized as follows:

> The Kamehameha Early Education Program operates a laboratory and demonstration school in Honolulu, enrolling primarily Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian, urban, poor children in kindergarten through the third grade. KEEP is a multidisciplinary research and development program, involving psychologists, anthropologists, linguists, and educators. The school is under the immediate control of researchers, and its purpose is to design and demonstrate an effective school program for Hawaiian children.
>
> The basic assumption of KEEP operations has been a two-culture model. There is a culture of the school and teachers, and a culture of the child. In the Hawaiian instance, they do not interact

to the advantage of either. In order to design accommodations between the two, a careful knowledge of both is required.

Knowledge of modern Hawaiian culture was gained through 3 years of ethnographic, and experimental, psychological research on Hawaiian communities (Gallimore, Boggs, & Jordan, 1974; Howard, 1974), and through extensive sociolinguistic research with Hawaiian children.... Knowledge of the schools culture was obtained by creating a school and observing it intensively. That is, we hired a staff of teachers, with conventional training and experience (except that they were sympathetic to our ultimate revisionist goals), built a conventional school building (except that it was equipped with extensive observational facilities), and let a typical school emerge.

We populated the school with educationally at-risk Hawaiian children and were able to observe, at firsthand, the dramatic two-culture conflict played out below our observation deck. As long as the traditional school culture remained intact, the KEEP children did no better on standardized test results than did control children in public schools. A typical result was a mean 27th percentile on the Gates-MacGinitie Tests of reading achievement.

Such results continued for some 4 years, despite a vigorous multidisciplinary research program, a dedicated and generous teaching staff, and effort after effort at educational innovation. Only after that time were we able to create an effective mix of cultural accommodations. At this writing, KEEP children are achieving at levels considerably above national norms. Class means above the 50th percentile on the Gates-MacGinitie Reading Tests are typical (Jordan and Tharp, 1979, pp. 276-277)

As far as the principles which guide the KEEP approach to reading comprehension, the following have been suggested as those which are critical to the success of the program:

1. Regulation and assistance of child learning is accomplished by making **compatible** the work contexts of the classroom with the work contexts of the natal culture, and by making **compatible** the social requirements of the classroom with the social relationships of the natal culture. This results in three specific compatibilities:
   a. A compatible small-group classroom organization.
   b. Teacher use of compatible social reinforcement and social control techniques.
   c. Compatible teacher-child interactional patterns in the learning tasks.
2. The goal of reading instruction is **comprehension** of text, rather than reading mechanics.
3. The goal of **language development** includes increased facility with Standard English, and increased general linguistic/cognitive skills.
4. Individualized diagnostic-prescriptive instruction with continuous monitoring of student progress.
5. A quality-control system for teacher performance.

(Tharp et al, in press, pp. 34-35)

The underlying principle of how to effectuate change in education for Hawaiian children has been expressed by the KEEP staff as follows:

> ... an operational principle of KEEP work should be specified — that which we call the principle of least change. In creating the accommodated educational culture for which KEEP aimed, we wished to effect only those changes in either school or child culture which would be necessary to produce the good learning desired by both the schools and Hawaiian parents. Neither the researchers, nor the parents, wanted the children culturally changed in values, attitudes, social relationships, and the like; and certainly a least-changed school model would be the most acceptable to the public schools which KEEP hoped to influence. As a result of these least-changes, casual visitors to the KEEP school see Hawaiian children acting very much like Hawaiian children; they see a school which looks very much like the trans-national school. Only close scrutiny will reveal anything very different. The

sophisticated educator will often comment that KEEP school success is due entirely to sound educational practice carefully executed, and that cultural considerations are probably minimal in effect. Culturally-sophisticated observers emphasize the Hawaiian elements in the program, and attribute success to those features. In the opinion of the writers, both attributions are correct in part. We have attempted to employ many elements which are features of, and grow solely from, educational science. We have attempted also to retain and emphasize in the classroom those characteristics of the children's culture which facilitate their learning and personal growth in the school environment.... The accommodated school culture looks like both of the two cultures, but is neither. (Jordan and Tharp, 1979, p. 277)

Currently the KEEP model is being disseminated to Hawaii's public school system. It is a time-consuming and costly venture, since it involves working with existing staff in DOE schools, re-orienting, re-training, and monitoring teacher effectiveness. While there is little doubt of the success of the approach in the laboratory school setting, the effectiveness of dissemination on a wide basis has yet to be determined.

As an educational research and development enterprise, KEEP has, in its 11-year history, broken new ground in trying to meet the needs of Native Hawaiian students. The dilemma for future planning is that it is also, as an instance of applied developmental research, "uncompromisingly local." (Tharp et al, in press, p. 56). It has aimed at the early elementary grade levels. It has emphasized reading comprehension. There are many more educational needs indicated in earlier chapters of this report than KEEP can or should be intended to address.

EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS RESEARCH

Following up on the suggestion made late in the study by the Executive Steering Committee, NHEAP staff corresponded with a sample of researchers on the mainland who had been involved in what has been called "effective schools" research. This was not a thorough literature review, but rather a foray into a substantial body of research literature which is still growing. The importance for the current report is that it illustrates one approach to determining direction for educational planning. It also illustrates a possible future research strategy to complement the generation of local knowledge as described above.

Edmonds (1981) traces the current type of effective school research to the Coleman Report of 1966. The Coleman Report had the effect of switching attention from **access** to education to **outcomes** of education as measures of success. It also showed much poorer outcomes for poor and black children than for white. That children from such backgrounds did not seem to be capable of benefiting from the opportunities that were available to them was an implication. This was taken even further by Jencks and his associates in *Inequality* (1972) in which they argued that schooling makes little or no difference in affecting later social outcomes. *Inequality* was even clearer in stating that it is the family background which imposes the constraints on a child which predetermine his or her educational future. Whether the child attends one school or another makes little difference, it was argued. Edmonds was one of those educators who took umbrage at the notion that improving the schools would make little difference in outcomes for the child.

Edmonds and others felt that if schools could be identified in which poor, black children were achieving at higher than expected levels, then that in itself would put to rest the notion that schools themselves can make no difference. Further, assuming such schools could be identified, they would provide a sample from which to draw principles which should generalize to other schools serving similar populations. Edmond's own research looked at schools in Detroit and Lansing, Michigan, and included a re-analysis of Coleman's data. Edmonds also has actively participated in an attempt to utilize effective school principles in the New York City public school system.

Edmonds cites the following as the five most important principles characterizing effective schools in his research:

Characteristics of Effective Schools

1. They have strong administrative leadership.
2. They have a climate of expectation in

which no children are permitted to fall below minimum but efficacious levels of achievement.
3. The school's atmosphere is orderly without being rigid, quiet without being oppressive, and generally conducive to the instructional business at hand.
4. It is made clear that pupil acquisition of the basic school skills takes precedence over all other school activities.
5. There must be some means by which pupil progress can be frequently monitored.

(Edmonds, 1981, p. 11)

While this list summarizes a number of other research results, it is not the **only** such list, nor is it universally agreed upon. The State of Michigan Department of Education has, for example, its own list of **eight** principles:

Eight Principles Associated with Improved Student Achievement

1. The more time spent on instruction, the greater the achievement gain.
2. The greater the amount of parental involvement, the greater the achievement.
3. High expectations on the part of the principal are associated with greater achievement.
4. High teacher expectations are associated with high achievement.
5. Higher achievement gains are more likely to occur in classrooms characterized by a high degree of structure, with teachers who are supportive.
6. The use of positive feedback or reinforcement by teachers is associated with greater achievement.
7. The use of tutoring is related to achievement.
8. Recitation promotes greater achievement gains.

(State of Michigan Department of Education, Muth, 1982)

To summarize, this aspect of the Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment Project, the Search for Solutions, proved to be a far vaster task than realized at the outset. Suffice it to say that there are no educational panaceas: the Indian Education Act provides for many similar kinds of needs as experienced by Native American Indians, but there are aspects of the Act itself which would make it less than ideally suited to the Hawaiian situation. The local DOE and private organizations such as The Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate are vigorously pursuing their own answers to particular needs. Some of these are worth citing as effective for one or another of the wide range of educational needs identified in this report. Finally, effective schools research gives some general encouragement that effective principles are being put to applied use and can be a part of school-level intervention. The research suggests itself as a model for further work to be done in Hawaii. The NHEAP staff was left with two conclusions. First, no single plan such as the Indian Education Act is likely to meet the unique needs of Native Hawaiians, rather, a multi-faceted approach is called for, targeting specific need areas and concentrating on an intensive time-limited approach. Second, a great deal more research is needed into the question of the "fit" of Native American and other educational programs to the Hawaiian needs.

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